Everyman, I will go with thee, and be thy guide,
In thy most need to go by thy side.

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BIOGRAPHY

THE MEMOIRS OF CARDINAL DE RETZ

INTRODUCTION BY DAVID OGG

IN 2 VOLS. VOL. 2

JEAN FRANÇOIS PAUL DE GONDI DE RETZ, born in 1613 in Tuscany. Created Cardinal in 1652, and died in 1679.

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MEMOIRS

VOLUME TWO

CARDINAL DE RETZ

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE CARDINAL DE RETZ

PART VI

BOOK III—*continued*

I HAVE already told you that the prince retired to St. Maur upon July 6, 1651. The Prince of Conti came the 7th to the *Parlement*, and brought thither the reasons which had obliged the Prince of Condé to retire. He mentioned only in general terms, the advices which he had received from all parts, of the designs of the court against his person. He afterwards declared that the prince his brother could find no manner of safety at court, so long as le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne were not removed. He made great complaints of the attempt which the cardinal had made to render himself master of Brisach and of Sedan, and he concluded by telling the company that the prince his brother had sent to them a gentleman with a letter. The first president answered the Prince of Conti, that the prince had done much better to have come himself to take his seat in the *Parlement*. The gentleman was called in, and he delivered the letter, which contained no more than what the Prince of Conti had said. After this the first president acquainted the company, that the queen had sent to him by five in the morning, to inform him of that letter of the prince's, and to command him to tell the company that her majesty desired that they would not come to any deliberation till she had made her will known to them. The Duke of Orleans added, that he was obliged in conscience to declare that the queen had had no thought of causing the prince to be arrested; that the guards that had passed through the Faubourg St. Germain, were intended only to prevent a design that was formed of carrying away some wines without paying the duties. That the queen had no manner of share in what had passed at Brisach. In short the duke could not have spoken otherwise than he did, if he had had the best intentions in the

world for the queen. Having taken the liberty to ask him, after the sitting was over, whether he had been in no apprehension of the company's requiring of him some guaranty for the safety of the prince, of which he had given such positive assurances, he answered me with a very embarrassed air: "Come to the Palace of Orleans, and I will give you my reasons." It is certain that by speaking as he did, he had exposed himself to that inconveniency, which was no small one; and that the first president, who then served the court very sincerely, prevented it with a great deal of art by putting Machaut on a false scent, who was about mentioning that guaranty, and by addressing himself to the duke, whom he only desired to remove the prince's fears, and to do his best to oblige him to come back to court. He affected likewise to let the time of the sitting slip away, so that the assembly was put off to the next day, after resolving first that in the meantime the prince's letter should be carried to the queen. I now come to what the duke told me when I was with him at his palace.

He carried me into his library, he bolted the door, and flinging his hat with some emotion upon a table, he began to swear and to say: "You are a great dupe, or I a great fool: do you believe or no that the queen desires that the prince should return to court?" "Yes, sir," answered I without the least hesitation, "provided he comes in such a condition that he must either suffer himself to be taken up, or knocked on the head." "No," replied he, "she desires his return at any rate; do but ask your friend the Viscount d'Autel what he this day told me in her name, as I was entering into the grand chamber." The viscount had told him that the Marshal du Plessis-Praslin, his brother, had received an order from the queen by six in the morning, to desire the duke in her name, that he would assure the *Parlement* that the Prince of Condé should run no manner of risk if he was pleased to return to court. "I have not been so far as that," said the duke, "for I have a thousand reasons not to pass my word for the queen, and neither she nor the prince have done anything to oblige me to it: but however," continued he, "you see that I could not have said less than I have done, and you see besides what pleasure there is in meddling with affairs between such persons. The queen was saying but two days ago, that either the prince or she must quit the town, and to-day she will have me bring him back to town, and engage my word and honour with the *Parlement* for his safety. The prince left Paris yesterday morning to prevent his being arrested, and

by the turn this affair takes, I will lay a wager that he will be in town again before it be two days. I am resolved to go to Blois, and to laugh at them all."

Knowing the duke as I did, and being informed besides that Vallois who belonged to him, but who was in the interest of the prince, had said the day before, that they thought themselves at St. Maur very sure of the Duke of Orleans, I made no doubt but that the duke's anger proceeded from the trouble of his mind, and that this trouble was the effect of his advances to the prince, which he had made because he thought they would signify nothing, being persuaded that he would come to court no more. But when he saw that the queen, instead of pushing him, offered him sureties in case he would return to Paris, and when this conduct had persuaded him that she might be brought to yield to the proposal of adding to the removal of the cardinal, that of Lionne, Servien and le Tellier, he fell into a fright; he then thought that the prince would quickly come back to Paris, and would make use of that yielding of the queen, not with a design to fall really upon the ministers, but to make his court by reconciling himself to her, and to buy his private advantages at the price of his complaisance in suffering her to recall them. The duke thought, upon this ground, that he could not shew too great a regard for the queen who had the day before reproached him with the measures he kept with the prince, "after what he has done," said she to him, "that is come to your knowledge, besides what I have not yet told you." You must observe that she has never explained herself more clearly about this, which makes me believe that it was nothing. I have already said that the Marshal de Grammont was sent to the prince upon July 7, which was the afternoon of the same day that what I have related passed at the *Parlement*. It had been agreed before by the queen that the marshal should go, and at his going the duke had charged him with all the fine words and all the promises possible in relation to the safety of the prince. So that his royal highness thought that having done, on the one hand, what the queen had desired, and entering on the other into all possible engagements with the prince, in relation to his safety, he might now reckon himself sure on both sides. This is exactly the rock on which all fearful souls split. *Fear, which always magnifies objects, gives a body to all their fancies, which takes for its form whatever they conceive to exist in their enemies' thoughts; so that fearful persons seldom fail to fall into real inconveniencies, occasioned by imaginary dangers.*

The duke, on the evening of July 6, perceived dispositions in the queen to come to an accommodation with the prince, notwithstanding what she said to the contrary, and he could not be ignorant that the prince's inclination led him to an accommodation with the queen. His fear makes him believe that these dispositions will produce their effect so soon as upon the 8th, and upon that ground, which was false, he enters on the 7th into engagements, which he ought not reasonably to have done, but upon the supposition that the accommodation was made so soon as upon the 5th. I made him own it himself, by making use of this dilemma: "You are afraid of the prince's coming back to court, because he will be the master there: do you take a good way to prevent his coming back, when you are opening him all manner of doors, and engaging your word for his being safe? Or are you willing that he should come back, that you may destroy him with the greatest ease? As to this last, I do not think you capable of entertaining such a thought, against a prince to whom you have engaged your word in the face of the whole *Parlement* and the whole kingdom. Are you willing he should come back, that you may effectually procure his accommodation with the queen? No project can be finer, if you are assured that such an accommodation will not turn against yourself, as it did not long ago. However I ought not to doubt but that your royal highness has taken all necessary measures for the preventing that evil." The duke, who had taken no measures at all, was ashamed of what I was representing to him in so strong a manner, and he said to me: "I see the inconveniencies, but what is to be done in the state things are in? They will come to an accommodation, and I shall remain by myself, as I did the last time." "Sir," answered I, "if your royal highness will command me to speak to the queen in your name, in the terms which I am going to propose, I dare be answerable that you will at least see quickly into the bottom of your affairs." He left me at liberty to do what I pleased, which he was always willing to do when he found himself perplexed. He approved of what I was to say to the queen, and of the turn I was to give to my discourse, after I had explained it to him. I then caused Gaboury to obtain leave of the queen that I might see her that evening at the usual hour, in her little gallery. The duke, to whom I had sent word by Jouy that the queen had ordered me to be there at midnight, sent for me about eight at the Hôtel de Chevreuse where I supped, to tell me, that he owned that he never found himself so much puzzled as he was then;

that it was true that it proceeded much from his own fault, but that it was pardonable to err in an occasion where it seemed that everybody was seeking only to break his measures; that the prince had sent Croissy to him by seven in the morning to tell him things that gave him room to believe that he would not return to Paris; that M. de Chavigny had spoke to him at seven that evening in a manner which made him judge that he might be in town at that very moment. He added that the queen was a strange woman; that she had told him the day before that she was very glad the prince had quitted the town, and that what the Marshal de Grammont was to tell him the next day in her name was only for form's sake; but that she had sent the marshal word that morning by six, to use all possible endeavours to oblige the prince to come back; that he had sent for me to bid me take care in what manner I should speak to the queen: "Because I must tell you in a word," said he, "that seeing, as I do, that she is coming to an accommodation with the prince, I am unwilling to break any more either with the one or with the other." I did my best to make the duke comprehend that the true way to break with them both, was to follow other measures than those we had agreed on, which were to bring the queen to explain herself. He cavilled much upon the manner in which he had agreed to those measures, and I still perceived in this occasion, *that fear is, of all passions, that which weakens the judgment most; and that those who are possessed with it, retain easily the impressions it has made upon them, even at the time that they are opposing themselves, or rather that others are helping them to oppose, those impressions which they have received.* It is an observation which I have made three or four times in my life.

Whilst my conversation with the duke was thus turning into a dispute, which indeed ran more upon words than upon essential things, of which it appeared to me that I had pretty well convinced him, the Marshal de Grammont came in. He had that moment been with the queen to give her an account of his journey to St. Maur, and being very much piqued at the prince for his refusing to give him a private audience, he gave to his journey and to his negotiation an air of ridicule, which was of service to me. The duke, who was the man in the world that loved a jest best, took a mighty pleasure in the description of the estates of the league assembled at St. Maur (for so the marshal called the company in whose presence he had delivered his message). He gave us in a very pleasant manner their several characters, and that scene of buffoonry helped a great deal to lessen in the

duke's mind the fear he had conceived at the Prince of Condé's party.

Just at the time that the Marshal de Grammont left the duke, I received a note from the Princess Palatine, which was of no less use to me with the duke to let him see that their measures at the Palais-Royal were not yet so sure as to be a ground for the building anything certain upon. The note contained these words:

"I desire that I may see you at your coming from the queen, for it is necessary that I should speak with you. I have this day been at St. Maur, where they are in doubt of their power; and I come from the Palais-Royal, where they are in still greater doubt of their intention."

I explained these words to the duke in the manner that suited me best. I told him that they meant that the queen was just in the same state that she was before; and I assured him that provided he altered nothing in the order he had given me to negotiate in his name with her, I would bring him back an answer that would put him out of the pain in which I saw him. He promised it me, but with restrictions, which fear never fails to produce in abundance.

I went to the queen, to whom I said, that I was ordered by the duke again to assure her of what he had himself protested to her the day before in relation to the prince's leaving Paris, which was, that far from being made privy to it, he disapproved of it and condemned it to the last degree; that he would not come into the least measures that were against his majesty's service or her own; that Cardinal Mazarin being removed, he would in no manner favour the pretences upon which some were willing to ground their jealousies about his return, because he was truly persuaded that she had no such design in her thoughts; that the Prince of Condé was continually infusing these jealousies of the cardinal's return into people's minds, in order to incense them, whilst the duke was wholly bent upon softning and appeasing them; that the only means to succeed in it was to speak of the cardinal's return as of a thing impossible, because so long as it should be made appear that it was feared as a thing near at hand, that would keep up the distrust and heat, not only of the people, but even of the *Parlement*. I began my deputation to the queen with this preamble, which to tell you the truth was not very necessary; after which I stopped, to try whether I could discover by her manner of receiving a discourse, the subject of which was very disagreeable to her, if an advice

which was given me when I left the duke, was well grounded. Vallois, who belonged to him, assured me as I was going into my coach, that he had heard Chavigny whisper to Goulas that the queen was grown so haughty since noon, that it made him fear that she had some secret and underhand negotiations with the prince. I perceived no appearance of it either in her air or in her discourse.

She hearkened to all that I said to her very peaceably and without being any way moved, so that I was obliged to come sooner than I had thought to the true subject on which I was sent, which was to beg of her that she would explain herself once for all about the manner in which her majesty was pleased that his royal highness should behave himself in respect to the prince. I told her that it was still more for her service than for the duke's interest, in this conjuncture, to open herself fully and entirely, because the least steps that were not concerted, might give the prince advantages so much the more dangerous, in that they would occasion distrust in the minds of people at a time when confidence in each other was what might be looked upon as almost the only necessary thing. The queen stopped me at these words, and said to me with an air that appeared very natural and even kind: "In what have I been wanting? Does the duke complain of me since yesterday?" "No, madam," answered I, "but your majesty told him yesterday at noon that you were very glad that the prince had left Paris, and you have sent the duke word this morning by the Viscount d'Autel, that he could not serve your majesty more effectually than by obliging the prince to come back." "Hear me speak," replied the queen of a sudden and without any hesitation, "and if I am in the wrong, I consent that you should tell it me freely. I agreed yesterday at noon with the duke, that we should send only for form's sake M. de Grammont to the prince, and that we should even hide our true intent from the gentleman we sent, because, as you know, he cannot keep a secret. And at twelve at night I am informed that the duke sent Goulas at nine to Chavigny, to order him to give in his name the most positive and particular promise to the prince, of his friendship and of an union with him. I am informed at the same time that the duke has told the President de Nesmond, that he would do wonders in the *Parlement* for the prince his cousin. Can I do less, considering the emotion in which I see everybody for the prince's retiring from court, than to take some measures to defend myself, even in respect to the duke, and to the reproaches which he is capable

of making to me, perhaps by to-morrow? I do not charge you with the duke's conduct. I know that you are not concerned in the correspondence, which is carried on by the means of Goulas and of Chavigny. But as I think that you cannot prevent it, I think likewise that you ought not to be surprised that I should at least use some precaution. Besides I must own to you," added the queen, "that I find myself at a loss. The cardinal is at a hundred leagues' distance from me; everybody speaks in relation to this affair after their own manner. Lionne is a traitor; Servien would have me leave Paris to-morrow, or do to-day whatever the prince pleases (to your honour and praise be it spoken). Le Tellier has no will but mine; the Marshal de Villeroy awaits the cardinal's decisions; and whilst the prince is holding me fast by the throat, I see the duke, who for a refreshment to me, says that it is my fault, and who will complain of me because he abandons me."

I was I confess moved with this discourse of the queen's, which came from her heart. Her majesty observed it, and took it kindly of me. She then commanded me to tell her freely what my thoughts were upon the present state of affairs. I will set down here the very words which I spoke, transcribed from what I wrote down as soon as I was at home.

"If your majesty can resolve upon ceasing altogether to think of the cardinal's return, you are able to do without exception whatever you please, because all the troubles to which your majesty is exposed, proceeds only from the persuasion that people are in, that you think of nothing else but of that return. The prince is persuaded that he can obtain everything from your majesty, by keeping you in the hopes of it. The duke, who thinks that the prince is not mistaken in those views, keeps at all events some measures with him. The *Parlement*, to whom that object is presented every morning, will abate nothing of their heat, and the people are increasing theirs. The cardinal is at Brühl, and his name does your majesty and the state as much harm as his person might do if he was still at the Palais-Royal." "It is but a pretence," said the queen, interrupting me in a kind of passion. "Do not I send assurances every day to the *Parlement* that he is removed for good and all, and without any hopes of returning?" "Yes, madam," replied I, "but I most humbly beg leave to acquaint your majesty, that nothing of what is said or done, contrary to your publick declarations, is kept secret, and that a quarter of an hour after the cardinal had broke Servien and Lionne's treaty, concerning the govern-

ment of Provence, everybody was equally informed that the first article was that he should be restored to his former post. The prince has not confessed to the duke that he had consented to it, but he has owned that your majesty had caused it to be proposed to him as a necessary condition, and it is what he publickly says to everybody that will hear it." "No more of that," said the queen; "it is needless to dispute upon that point: I can do no more in it than what I have done. People will believe it, let me say what I please; and we are therefore to act upon what they will believe."

"In that case, madam," answered I, "I am persuaded that there are more predictions to make than counsels to give." "Tell your predictions," replied the queen, "but take care that they be not such as those of the barricades. In good earnest," added she, "tell me honestly your thoughts about all this. You are in effect already a cardinal, and you would act like an ill man if you wished to see the state overturned. I confess I am at a loss; I have none but traitors and cowards about me; speak your sentiments with all manner of freedom." "I will do it, madam," answered I, "though with some reluctance, because I know how tender your majesty is in what touches the cardinal; but I cannot help telling you once more, that if your majesty can this day resolve upon rejecting all thoughts of the cardinal's return, you will be to-morrow more absolute than in the first days of your regency, and that if you persist in your desire of restoring him, you hazard the state." "Why so," said she, "if the duke and the prince would consent to it?" "Because, madam," replied I, "the duke will not consent to it, till the state is hazarded, nor the prince, but with a view to hazard it."

I then explained to her the particulars of all that was to be feared; I enlarged upon the impossibility of separating the Duke of Orleans[1] from the *Parlement*, and of bringing the *Parlement* to agree to that point by any other means than by using force, which would endanger the crown. I set before her eyes the immense pretensions of the prince, and of Messieurs de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucauld. I convinced her that it was in her power to dissipate whenever she pleased, by one single word, provided it came from her heart, all those clouds that appeared so thick and so black. And when I perceived that she was moved at what I said, and that she seemed especi-

[1] The French says the prince, but it is pretty visible that it should have been the Duke of Orleans.

ally pleased at what I was mentioning about the restoring her authority, I thought that it would not be amiss to take hold of that instant to let her see the sincerity of my intentions. "Would to God, madam," added I, "that your majesty were willing to restore your authority at my cost! You are told at every hour of the day that I think of being prime minister, and the cardinal has used himself to say, speaking of me, He aims at my place. Is it possible, madam, that I can be thought so impertinent as to imagine any likelihood of becoming a minister by faction? Or can it be believed that I have so little knowledge of your majesty's firmness, as to fancy that I can conquer your favour by force of arms? But a thing which is but too true is, that what is ridiculously said of the place of minister, is actually done, in respect to the several pretensions that others have. The prince has lately had the government of Guienne; he would have that of Blaye for M. de la Rochefoucauld, and that of Provence for the Prince of Conti; M. de Bouillon would have Sedan restored to him; M. de Turenne would command in Germany; M. de Nemours would have the government of Auvergne; Viole would be secretary of state; Chavigny would remain in his post; and I ask, madam, for the cardinal's hat.

"If your majesty is willing to laugh at all our pretensions, and to grant nothing but what is perfectly agreeable to your interest and to your pleasure; do but send back in good earnest the cardinal into Italy; do but break all the private correspondence that is kept with him; be but sincere in removing from people's minds all manner of thoughts about his return, of which there are such fears remaining, which even encrease every day; and let your majesty afterwards declare, that having condescended to give to the publick the satisfaction of removing the cardinal, which they have desired, you think that your dignity requires that you should refuse to particular persons the graces which they have asked or pretended to, under that pretext. Nobody will be a greater loser than I, madam, by this conduct, which will revoke my nomination, in a manner which will please every one, but certainly none without exception more than me, because I think it necessary to me, for reasons only which will cease as soon as your majesty has restored things to the order they should be in." "Have I not done everything which you propose?" replied the queen. "Have I not assured ten times the duke, the prince, and the *Parlement*, that the cardinal should never return? Have any of you, and in particular you that speak to me, laid down your pretensions

for all that?" "No, madam," said I, "nobody has laid down his pretensions, because every one knows that the cardinal governs more than ever. Your majesty has done me the honour not to hide yourself from me upon that account; but those to whom you do not tell it, know perhaps still more than I, and that is the thing that spoils all, madam, because every one thinks he has a right to defend himself from what he believes the more unlawful, because your majesty disowns it publickly." "But do you really believe," said the queen, "that the duke would abandon the prince, if he was sure that the cardinal would not return?" "Can you question it, madam," answered I, "after what you have seen these last days? He would have arrested the prince in his palace, if you had pleased, though he does not think it at all sure that the cardinal is not to return." The queen mused a little upon my answer, and then of a sudden, and even with precipitation, as if she had been impatient to finish that discourse, she said: "The expelling the king's minister against his will, is a fine way to restore the royal authority!" She gave me no time to reply, and she went on, commanding me to tell her my opinion upon the state in which things were: "For," added she, "I can do no more upon this point than what I have already done, and am still doing."

I perceived very well that she was unwilling to explain herself more clearly. I would not therefore insist directly upon that subject; but I did it in effect by obeying her command, which was to give her my thoughts upon the present state of affairs; in order to which I reassumed my discourse in this manner. "To comply, madam, with your majesty's command, I must come again to the predictions which I have before taken the liberty to touch upon. If things continue as they are, the duke will be in perpetual distrust of the prince's reconciling himself to your majesty by recalling the cardinal, and upon that ground he will think himself obliged to continue his regard for him, and to keep the *Parlement* and the people united to him. The prince will either unite with the duke to assure himself against the cardinal's return, if he does not attain his ends in it, or he will be content to share the kingdom and put up with him till he finds his better account in expelling him again. Private persons that are of any consideration will think upon nothing else but upon gaining some advantages from it. There will be a thousand subdivisions, both in the court and among the several parties. This will be, madam, sufficient matter for a civil war, which being added to a foreign war as considerable as that in which we

are engaged, may bring the state upon the brink of ruin." "If the duke was but willing," said the queen. . . . "That he never will, madam," answered I; "they deceive your majesty who put you in hopes of it, and I should undo myself with him, should I but propose it. The duke fears the prince and does not love him; he can no longer confide in the cardinal. There will be moments wherein he will discover some foible in favour of the one or of the other, according to what he may fear from them; but he will never quit the shadow of the publick, so long as that publick makes a body, which it will continue to do for a long time, having a subject in hand upon which your majesty is yourself obliged to inflame it by some new declarations."

I was convinced at this instant still more than I had yet been, that it is impossible for the court to have a right notion of the publick. Flattery, the plague of courts, infects them always to such a degree, as to bring them into a delirium past remedy upon that head; and I observed that the queen was treating in her own imagination all that I was saying of the publick as chimeras, with the same haughtiness as if she had never had occasion to reflect upon the barricades. This made me slip over that matter more lightly than it deserved; the queen, besides, leaving me no room to enlarge upon it, because she put me again upon the discourse of the prince's manner of acting, asking me what I thought of his proposal for the removing le Tellier, Lionne and Servien. As I was willing to discover as much as I could whether that proposal was not a step towards some underhand negotiations, I smiled at what the queen said, seasoning my respect with an air of mystery. The queen, whose wit consisted all in these kinds of airs, understood my meaning, and said: "No, there is nothing in it but what you see as well as I, and what everybody sees. The prince would willingly have got from me wherewithal to expel a dozen ministers, for the hopes of leaving me one whom he would perhaps have taken from me the next day. I have not given into that trap, and he is laying another. He will take from me the ministers I have left, that is, he proposes to take them from me; for if I will yield him Provence, he will condescend to leave me le Tellier, and perhaps I may obtain Servien for Languedoc. What says the duke to all this?" "He is making predictions, madam," answered I, "for as I have said to your majesty, what can one say in the state in which things are?" "But, in short," replied the queen, "what says he? Will he not still join with the prince to force me to take that fine step?" "I have reason

not to believe it, madam," said I, "when I remember what he has told me this day about it; but I do not doubt it, when I consider that he will be forced to it perhaps by to-morrow." "And you," said the queen to me, "what will you do?" "I will declare myself in the *Parlement*," replied I, "and even in the pulpit, against the proposal, if your majesty resolves upon using the sole and sovereign remedy; and in all likelihood I shall do like the others, if you leave things in the state they are in."

The queen, who had hitherto contained herself very much, grew angry at this, and raising her voice, told me, "That I had then asked for that audience on purpose only to declare war to her face." "I am very far, madam," answered I, "from that insolence, and from that folly, since I have begged your majesty's leave to have the honour of speaking to you this day, only to know in the duke's name, what you will have him do to prevent the insolence with which the prince threatens you. I was telling your majesty not long since that it is a great misfortune to be fallen into times, when an honest man is obliged, even out of a principle of duty, to be wanting to the respect he owes to his master. I know, madam, that I am wanting to that respect, when I speak in the manner I do in relation to the cardinal, but I know at the same time, that I speak and act as a good subject, and that those that do otherwise are double-dealers, who please, but who betray their conscience and their duty. Your majesty has commanded me to speak my thoughts with liberty, and I obey you. Do but bid me hold my tongue, and you will be convinced of my submission, and that I shall content myself with reporting exactly to the duke what you do me the honour to give me in charge." The queen came to herself of a sudden, commanding me to speak my thoughts, and to explain them thoroughly to her. I followed her order exactly, I represented to her as naturally as ever I could, the condition to which affairs were brought, I made an end of designing what I had but begun to give her a rough draft of; I told her the whole truth with the same exactness and sincerity, as if I had been to give an account of it to God a quarter of an hour after. The queen was touched with what I said, and she told the Princess Palatine the next day, that what I said came from my heart, but that I was blinded by my prejudice. What appeared to me, was that she was very much prepossessed herself by her attachment to the cardinal, and that her inclination got always the better of a sort of faint willingness which I saw sometimes in her, for entering

into the overtures which I made to her for the restoring the royal authority, at the cost of the Mazarinians, and of the Frondeurs. I observed that at the end of the conversation she took pleasure in making me speak upon that subject, and that when she saw that I really did it with sincerity and a good intent, she expressed her thankfulness to me for it.

I should be afraid to tire you, if I enlarged more upon a detail which is already but too long, and I will content myself with telling you, that the result was, that I should use my best endeavours to oblige the duke not to join with the prince in demanding the removal of Messieurs le Tellier, Servien and Lionne, upon my promising him in the queen's name that she would not come to any accommodation with the prince, without the duke's participation and consent. It was with much pain that I could get that promise from her, and the difficulty which I found in it confirmed me in the opinion I was in before, that the appearances of an accommodation betwixt the court and the prince were not altogether vanished. I believed it still much more when I found it impossible for me to oblige the queen to explain her intentions upon the conduct which the duke was to observe, either to procure the prince's return, or to traverse it. She affected to tell me that she had not changed her mind in regard to that, since what she had said to the duke himself; but I clearly perceived, by her actions, and even by some words, that she had altered her mind more than three times since I was with her in the gallery, and I remembered what the Princess Palatine had written to me, that they were in suspense at the Palais-Royal about what they would do. I thought fit however to insist and to press the queen, because I had reason to judge that the duke, who was very clear-sighted, receiving from me but a general and loose promise (which he would give no great credit to, mistrusting as he did very much the queen's intentions in respect to him), would certainly, and with a great deal of reason, be concerned only with the little light I brought him touching the queen's true design. I made therefore no doubt but that from this consideration, he would still make some new advances towards the prince, which I thought would not be at all for his nor for the king's interest. I spoke to the queen upon it with vigour, without obtaining anything, which was indeed a thing impossible, because she was herself still undetermined. I will explain you this presently more at large.

It was almost day when I came away from the Palais-Royal, so that I had not time to go to the Princess Palatine, who wrote

a note to me at six that morning, to let me know that she staid for me in a hackney coach before the Hospital of the Incurables. I went thither immediately in a plain coach. She explained to me her note of the evening before; she told me that the prince had appeared to her very bold, but that she had plainly discovered by Madam de Longueville's discourse that he mistook his own strength, by believing his enemies much better united than indeed they were; that the queen knew not what to do; that she was sometimes for the return of the prince, on what conditions soever; that at others she thanked God for his having left Paris; that this variation came from the different counsels she received; that Servien told her that the state was undone if the prince came not back; that le Tellier stood wavering; that the Abbot Fouquet, who was newly come from Brühl, assured her that the cardinal would be vexed to the last degree if she did not take hold of this occasion, which the prince himself had given her, to push him; that the eldest Fouquet affirmed that he knew for certain that the contrary was true; and that all would go on in this manner, till an order from Brühl had decided the matter.

The Princess Palatine was persuaded above all that there were secret proposals, which helped to keep the queen thus uncertain. This is what the Princess Palatine told me with great haste, because it was high time to go to the *Parlement*, the duke having already sent twice for me. I found him just ready to go; I gave him in very few words an account of my commission, by setting the fact only before his eyes. He immediately drew from it what I had foretold the queen; and as soon as he saw that the promise I brought him from her was neither preceded by, nor followed with, any concerted measures to act together in the present occasion, he began to whistle, and he said to me: "This is a good drug indeed! Come, come, let's go to the *Parlement*." "However, sir," replied I, "it seems necessary to me that your royal highness should resolve upon what you are to say when you are there." "Who the devil," said he, "can forejudge? There's neither rhyme nor reason with these people. Let's go, I say, and when we are in the grand chamber, we shall perhaps find that to-day is not Saturday." It was Saturday however, and July 8, 1651.

As soon as the duke had taken his seat, Talon, advocate-general, came in with his colleagues, and he told the company that he had carried to the queen the day before, the prince's letter to the *Parlement;* that the queen had been very well

pleased with the company's conduct, and that the lord chancellor had put a writing into the attorney-general's hands, whereby the company would be informed of the king's pleasure. The purport of that writing was, that the queen was extremely surprized that the prince could call into question the assurances which she had so often given that she had any design against his person; that she did not wonder at the distrust he expressed in relation to the cardinal's return; that she declared that she would religiously observe the word she had given the *Parlement* upon that account; that she knew nothing of the marriage of M. de Mercœur, nor of the negotiations concerning Sedan; that she had more occasion than anybody to complain of what had passed at Brisach. (I will by and by give you an account of these three articles.) That as to the removal of Messieurs le Tellier, Servien and Lionne, she would have everybody to know that she did not intend to be constrained in the choice of the king her son's ministers, no more than in that of his domestick servants, and that the proposal which was made to her upon that point was the more unjust, because not one of the three that were named had taken the least step for recalling Cardinal Mazarin. The company grew very hot after the reading of this paper, on account of its not being signed, which, considering the circumstances, was of no manner of consequence: but amongst companies of this nature, matters relating to form being of great weight with persons of a narrow mind, and bemusing even the most reasonable, the whole morning was spent properly about nothing, and the assembly of the chambers was put off to the Monday following. There was a great deal of heat in this sitting between the Prince of Conti and the first president. This last, who, in his particular, was not at all pleased with the Prince of Condé, whom he thought that he had obliged (though in my opinion, without ground) to more gratitude than he had expressed; this last, I say, spoke with vigour against the prince's retreat to St. Maur, which he even called a sad prelude to a civil war. He added two or three words which seemed to relate to the late commotions, of which the Prince of Condé had been the author.

The Prince of Conti took him up, and even threatened him by saying, that in any other place he would have taught him to keep to the respect which is due to princes of the blood. The first president replied boldly, that he feared nothing, and that he had reason himself to complain, that any one durst interrupt him in his seat, where he represented the king's person. Members rose

up on both sides. The duke, who was very glad to see them quarrelling with one another, meddled with the thing only when he could not help doing it, telling the company at last that every one ought to apply himself to quiet this matter.

The duke having come back to his palace, carried me into his library, bolted the door of it himself, flung his hat upon the table, and then told me with a great deal of emotion, that he had not had time before his going to the *Parlement*, to acquaint me with a thing that would surprize me, though it ought not to do it; that he knew since midnight that the old pantaloon (so he called M. de Châteauneuf) was treating with Chavigny by the means of St. Romain and of Croissy, of an accommodation between the prince and the queen; that he was not ignorant of what I had to say upon this subject, but that there was no disputing matters of fact, and that he was sure of this. "And if you doubt it," added he, (throwing a letter to me) "take this, look upon it, and read it." This letter was from Châteauneuf, and was directed to Croissy, and among other things it contained these words: "You may assure M. de Chavigny that the Commander de Jars, who is never a dupe but in trifles, has owned that the queen deals uprightly, and that, not only the Frondeurs, but le Tellier himself, know nothing of our negotiation. M. de St. Romain's suspicion is without ground."

You must know that le Grand, first *valet de chambre* to the duke, having seen that letter fall out of Croissy's pocket, had taken it up, and had carried it to the duke. His royal highness staid not till I had made an end of reading it, before he spoke. "Was I in the wrong," said he, "to tell you this morning that one is at a loss with these men? It is a common saying that there's no reliance upon the people. They lie that say so; there is a thousand times more solidity in the people than in the ministers; I will go and lodge in the market place." "You really believe then, sir," said I, "that the accommodation is made?" "No," answered he, "not so neither." "As for me, sir," replied I, "I should be persuaded that it cannot be brought about by this means, if I durst be of another opinion than your royal highness."

This matter was debated with some heat. I justified what I had said, by the impossibility which appeared to me in the success of this negotiation, because by a very odd chance, it was managed by persons who had all of them in an eminent degree, at least in this case, which was of itself so full of difficulties, all the qualities that were the most likely to break the easiest

accommodation. The duke persisted in his opinion, because his natural weakness made him always look upon what he feared as infallible and even near. It was my duty to yield, as you may well judge, and to receive the order which he gave me, to desire the Princess Palatine to tell the queen that very afternoon, that he was of opinion, that her majesty ought by all means to come to an accommodation with the prince, and that the *Parlement* and the people were so much inflamed at everything that had the least tincture of Mazarinianism, that nothing now was to be thought on but to applaud the prince; who, added he even with some sharpness, has been artful enough to prevent us in renewing the skirmish against the Sicilian.

I represented to him in vain, that even supposing as sure, what he thought very near, and what I should think very remote, durst I contradict him; the way he took was attended with terrible inconveniencies, and chiefly with that of precipitating the queen into the thing which he feared, and even of obliging her to take still greater precautions against the duke's resentment. He thought that my reasons were nothing else but pretences to cover the true cause that made me contradict him, which he fancied he had found in the fear he thought I had that he should himself come to an accommodation with the prince. Hereupon he told me that he would act so cautiously with those at St. Maur, that I ought not to fear his falling into the inconveniencies which I had mentioned, and that if the queen had got the start of him once, he would find means to get it of her again. "I am not such a fool as she imagines," added he, "and I think more on your interest than you do yourself." I confess that I did not at first understand what these words meant; but he gave me room to guess, by adding: "Hath the prince, though exasperated against you, mentioned your name in his letter to the *Parlement?*" I fancied that the duke was willing to set off that silence to me, and to shew it me as a sign of the regard which the prince had for me upon his account, and of the precaution which he (the duke) designed to use on this occasion, in case of need. I judged by this discourse, and by many others, which had preceded, and which followed it, that his belief in an accommodation between the queen and the prince, either as already made, or as upon the point of being made, was the reason which had obliged him to command me to speak to the Princess Palatine, that she would press the queen in his name to hasten the accommodation, and to assure her majesty that he should not think himself at all disobliged by it; imagining thereby to

gain some merit with the prince by his giving her this counsel. I was altogether confirmed in my opinion by a conversation of above an hour long, which the duke had (a moment after I had left him) with Charay, who was, as I have already said, particularly attached to the prince, though belonging to the duke. I opposed as much as I could the duke's sentiments, which were in reality rather the mistakes of fear than the result of reason. I could gain nothing upon him, and I experienced in this occasion what I have observed since in some others; that *fear, when it is flattered by cunning, is not to be overcome.*

You will easily judge that I was cruelly embarrassed when I left the duke. The Princess Palatine was not much less so than I at my message, and at the compliment which I desired her to make to the queen in the duke's name. She came however to herself sooner and more easily than I, when she looked upon the constitution of affairs, "which," said she with a great deal of good sense, "will set men right, when on the contrary, men are commonly those that set affairs right." Madam de Beauvais had that moment sent word to the Princess Palatine, that Métayer, *valet de chambre* to the cardinal, was just arrived from Brühl, and that gave her occasion to add, that perhaps that man had brought enough with him to change in an instant the whole face of things. She was saying this at a venture, and thinking only that the cardinal would never approve of anything that went through the hands of Chavigny. What she had said proved a prophecy, for it happened that the messenger had brought anathemas, rather than letters against the proposals that had been made; and though the cardinal was the man in the world that could always the best dissemble a liking for what he really disliked, he had not on this occasion observed any measures that were in the least like those which he commonly used, and this we attributed, the Princess Palatine and I, to the aversion he had for the managers. He mistrusted Châteauneuf very much; Chavigny was the man he feared; St. Romain was odious to him, by reason both of his present attachment to Chavigny, and for that he had had to M. d'Avaux at Munster. The Princess Palatine, who knew only that the messenger was come, but was ignorant what message he had brought, thought fit that I should go back to the duke to let him know that this express might perhaps have changed the queen's views, for which reason she thought it best for her not to execute the commission I had charged her with from him till they could be better informed.

The duke, to whom I immediately went, was angry at this overture, which was however very prudent, and that by a prejudice which he often fell into, and to which a great many others are subject. *Most people consider less the reasons of what is proposed to them against their inclinations, than the motives which may have obliged the person that proposes them to make use of these reasons.* This defect is very common and very great. I clearly perceived that the duke took what I told him in the Princess Palatine's name, for an effect only of the prejudice which he fancied that both of us had against the prince. I insisted on the proposal, and he stood firm in refusing it, by which I was still the more convinced, that *a man that does not confide in himself, will never confide sincerely in anybody.* The duke had a greater confidence in me, beyond comparison, than in all those that ever came near him, but his confidence has never held out a quarter of an hour against his fear.

If the compliment which was to be made to the queen in the duke's name had been carried by a person of less address than the Princess Palatine, I would have been still more uneasy for the event. But she managed the thing with so much ability, that it served instead of hurting. It is true, that fortune was a great help to her on this occasion, by bringing the messenger whom I have mentioned just in the nick of time, for rectifying what the duke had done his best to have spoiled. For the queen, who was always submissive to the cardinal, but who was doubly so when what he wrote agreed with her passion, happened to be, when the Princess Palatine spoke to her, so far from any thoughts of an accommodation with the prince, that what that princess had said in the duke's name, had no other effect with her but that which we could have wished, which was, to offer the duke *carte blanche*, and to oblige him to come to confession, if I may say so, for his wavering, and to find out excuses for it, but such as might secure things for the future. The queen even ordered the Princess Palatine to let the duke know by my means the particulars of the dispatch which she had received; and being extremely desirous to see me, I was commanded to be between eleven and twelve at night at the usual place. We were in no doubt, neither the Princess Palatine nor I, but that the duke would receive with a great deal of joy the news which I was going to bring him.

We both found ourselves much mistaken. For I had no sooner told him that the queen offered him everything without exception, provided he would on his side unite sincerely and

entirely with her against the prince, than he fell into a state which I cannot well express to you but by desiring you to remember that which it is impossible but you must sometimes have found yourself in. Have you never acted upon suppositions that were displeasing to you? And is it not true however, that when you have found those suppositions to be ill-grounded, you have felt within you a conflict between the joy of finding yourself deceived to your own advantage, and the regret of having acted in the manner you had done? It is what has happened to me a thousand times.

The duke was glad at heart to find the queen much farther from an accommodation than he had believed; but he was no less sorry for his advances to the prince, which he had made in view only of that accommodation, thinking it very near made. Men in that state are commonly a pretty long while before they will believe their mistake, even after they have perceived it; because the difficulty of unstitching their own work raises in their mind objections against the doing of it, which they take to proceed from their reason, when they are only a natural effect of their own inclination. The duke, as I have already said more than once, was timorous and lazy to a sovereign degree. I perceived at the time that I was acquainting him with this news, a mixture of gaiety and of trouble in his countenance. Such a mixture is not to be expressed, but methinks I see it in him to the life; and though I had known nothing of his steps towards the prince, I might have read in his eyes that he had received some news upon his account that afforded him both joy and sorrow. His words did not bely his countenance. He was willing to doubt of the truth of what I said, though he doubted not of it. It is the first impulse of persons of his humour that find themselves in this state. He presently passed to the second, which is the desire that such persons have to justify themselves of the precipitation that has plunged them into the trouble they are in. "The time has come," said he of a sudden: "The queen does things that oblige people". . . He stopped at this word, being ashamed, I believe, to confess what he had done. He whirled about for some time, he whistled, he mused a moment by the chimney-side; then he said to me: "What the devil will you say to the queen? She will have me promise not to push the sub-ministers; and how can I do it after what I have promised the prince?" He went on after this, and spoke perfect nonsense to justify to me the engagement he had taken with the prince since the last twenty-four hours, and I found

that this nonsense tended chiefly to make me believe that he thought he had kept nothing hid from me the day before. I did not undeceive him, and I am still persuaded that he believed he had succeeded in his design. The ground I gave him to think so, was the reason that he opened himself to me much more than he certainly would have done if he had thought that I was dissatisfied, and I got out of him all the particulars of what he had done, which were these.

As he had laid for a foundation that the prince's accommodation with the court was either made or very near it, he took it for granted that he should run no hazard in offering him all, in a conjuncture in which he did not fear that his offers against the court would be accepted. You will see at once how frivolous that way of reasoning was. The duke, who had a great deal of wit, discovered it fully himself, as soon as the danger, which his fear had brought before his eyes, was vanished. But as it is always easier to perceive the evil than the remedy, he was a long while seeking for one without finding it, because he looked for a remedy that might at once satisfy both sides. There are occasions when such a design is absolutely impracticable, and when that happens it becomes pernicious, because it will infallibly displease both. Such a design is not less troublesome to those that are employed in the bringing it about, because it carries always along with it an air of deceit. It was not therefore for want of endeavours in me that I did not dissuade the duke from following it. I found it not in my power, and he ordered me to make the queen consent that he should declare in the *Parlement* against the three sub-ministers, in case the prince continued to demand their removal; and at the same time he gave me leave to assure her, that if she would consent to what he proposed, he would declare against the prince, if after this step he extended his pretensions further. As for my part, being persuaded that it was neither just nor prudent to exasperate the queen to the degree which this proposal would probably do, I represented to the duke with vigour, that he had a fair opportunity offered him to give a two-fold, or even a three-fold stroke; first in obliging the queen, by suffering the sub-ministers (who in the main were of no great importance) to remain with her: secondly, in letting the publick know that the prince was not content with Mazarin's removal, but was striking at the foundations of the royal authority, by not leaving the queen regent even the least shadow of power: and thirdly, in pleasing at the same time the publick, by a sort of aggravation against the

cardinal, which I proposed to the duke, and to which I even took upon me to bring the queen to consent.

The Princess Palatine had told me that she had seen in a letter of the cardinal's to the queen, that he desired her majesty to refuse nothing of what should be asked her against him, because he was persuaded, that after having carried matters to such an excess, if his enemies added still to that, it would bring all moderate people to be rather more favourable to him than otherwise; and because it was convenient enough for his service, that his friends should bemuse the impertinents (that was his word) by suffering their railing, which after having been repeated so long was now grown insignificant.

I did not take this manner of reasoning of the cardinal's to be very right, but I made use of it as of a ground for the conduct which I had wished that the duke would have taken; and I explained my meaning to him in the manner following: "If his royal highness concurs in the removal of the sub-ministers, it is likely that he does the Prince of Condé's work, because it will perhaps oblige the queen to grant that prince all that he shall ask. But he will not do his own work at court, because he will thereby exasperate the queen more and more, and incense besides those that come near her. Neither will he do it with the publick, for, as he himself owns, the prince has been beforehand with him, and being the first that has proposed the removal of these remains of Mazarinianism, he will gain by it great reputation, which, with the people, is all in all.

"The inconvenience therefore of putting the queen into a fright, of which the prince may make use for his own advantage, is very great, and it is besides accompanied with a great loss of reputation, in exposing the duke to act only as a second to the prince, and in drawing him into a conduct of which the honour will turn to the account of another, and the shame upon himself, because it will be said that he ought to have given the first example of it. What advantage will he find that can compensate this inconvenience? The only one that can be foreseen is the taking away from the queen, persons that are thought affectionate to the cardinal: but is that an advantage, if the duke considers that the Fouquets, the Bartets, the Brachets will equally pass half the nights with her majesty; that the d'Estrées, the Souvrets and the Senneterres will every day be with her, and that these last will prove the more dangerous in being near her, because the queen will be still the more incensed by the removal of the sub-ministers.

"These considerations convince me that the duke ought to make the prince's panegyrick in the first assembly of the chambers, for the firmness he shews against the return of Cardinal Mazarin; to confirm all that has been said by the Prince of Conti in his brother's name, about the necessary precautions that are to be taken in relation to the recalling the cardinal; to oppose publickly and with solid reasons, those which are proposed for removing the three sub-ministers; to shew that it is injurious to the queen, to whom there is enough respect and even gratitude due, for the promises which she renews on every occasion, of the total exclusion of Cardinal Mazarin, to prevent people from abusing her goodness at every instant, by proposing new conditions, to which no end can be seen; to add, that if the starting these new proposals for the cutting off the branches had come from anybody whose zeal was at the bottom less to be relied on than that of the prince, it might become suspicious, because the tree itself is not as yet rooted up: the declaration against the cardinal is not as yet got ready: it is well known that there are still disputes about words, instead of hastening, of finishing, or rather of cementing, a work, which everybody is agreed upon.

"The new proposals that are started, may raise scruples in the minds of persons who have the best intentions. Some who expect to render their names sacred in throwing stones on Mazarin's tomb, would think that they committed a great crime in offering the least affront to those whom the queen shall please for the future to employ. Nothing could serve better to wipe off the guilt of the cardinal, than to give room to people to think that the example of what has passed in respect to him, is to be daily or even frequently made upon others. The queen's justice and goodness have given sanction to what we have done with pure and sincere intentions for her service and for the good of the state; we ought on our part to make her a suitable return for it, by acting in a manner that shews that our chiefest care is to prevent, that what the safety of the state has put us upon doing against Mazarin, may in no wise hurt the lawful authority of the king.

"We have in this conjuncture a very remarkable advantage. The publick declaration which the queen has so many times made, both to the princes and to the *Parlement*, that she excluded for ever the cardinal from the ministry, gives us a right, without hurting the royal authority, which ought to be sacred to us, to seek for all manner of sure ties for supporting that promise, which ought not to be less sacred to the queen. It is

what his royal highness ought to apply himself to, in a manner answerable to his dignity, and in which he may expect to succeed. In my opinion he ought to take care not to suffer himself to be hoodwinked, and to give the like caution to the *Parlement*, in persuading that company to reject proposals, frivolous in themselves, and made on purpose to divert them from things truly substantial. A thing which is really so, and requires all possible haste, is to establish the declaration against the cardinal upon a right foot. The first that was brought to the *Parlement* contained his panegyrick; that about which they are now, as we have at least been informed, is grounded only upon the remonstrances of that company, and upon the queen's granting their demands, leaving room thereby to future explanations. His royal highness may tell the company to-morrow that the main point on which that declaration depends is the taking true and solid precautions, which cannot be done in a surer manner than by inserting in it, that the king excludes the cardinal from his dominions and from his councils, because it is notoriously and undeniably true that it was he that broke the general peace of Munster. If the duke speaks in that manner to-morrow, I will be answerable for the queen that she will to-morrow night give him her approbation. By this means he reunites himself to the queen at the same time that he gives Mazarin a cruel stroke; he gains to himself the honour among the publick of attacking him personally and effectually, and takes it away from the prince, in letting people see that this last affects only to attack his shadow. He gives all wise and moderate men to understand, that he will not suffer, that under the cover of Mazarin, the royal authority should daily continue to receive new wounds."

This was my advice to the duke, and what I gave him in writing before I left him. This he carried to the dutchess, who was exasperated at his having engaged with the prince; this he approved with all his heart, and yet this he durst not execute, because upon his being fully persuaded (as I have already said) that the prince would come to an accommodation with the court, and thinking thereby to play a sure game, he had engaged to declare with him against the sub-ministers. He confessed it to the dutchess still more particularly than he had done to me. All that I could gain from him was to promise the queen that he would do his very best with the prince to prevent his attacking the three sub-ministers, and that in case he could not prevail with him, and so should be forced to speak himself against them,

he would at the same time declare to the prince that that should be the last time; and that if the queen continued constant to her promise of not recalling the cardinal, he would no longer divide himself from her interest. The dutchess, who loved le Tellier, and who was very sorry for that reason and for many more, that the duke would go no further, made him promise that he would feign himself sick the next day, with a view of retarding the assembly of the chambers, and of gaining time thereby to oblige him to do something more. As soon as she had gained that point, she sent the queen word of it, acquainting her at the same time that I was doing wonders for her service. That testimony, which was very agreeably received, being carried at an instant when the queen was very well satisfied with the dutchess, which was a thing uncommon to her, facilitated very much my negotiation. I went to the queen at the hour appointed, who received me with a very open countenance, and what convinced me that she was very well satisfied with me, was that she did not alter that countenance, not even after I had declared to her what I thought impossible to hide from her, which was that nothing could prevent the duke from concurring with the prince against the sub-ministers, and that I should be myself obliged to do the like if they came to a deliberation upon it in the *Parlement*.

You are no doubt so much fatigued with all the speeches and answers of our other conversations, that I think it best not to enter into the particulars of this, which was pretty long, and to tell you only the result, which was that I promised the queen in the duke's name (which promise I was to use my utmost power to oblige him to perform faithfully) that he would do whatever he could to soften the prince in favour of the sub-ministers; and that in case he could not succeed, and was therefore obliged to join with the prince against them, and I consequently to do the like, I should declare to the duke, that if the prince should afterwards make any other new proposals, I would no longer come into them, though the duke should even suffer himself to be led that way. I must confess that I stood out a long while against this last clause, because it certainly engaged me very much, and because I thought it disrespectful to the last degree, in confounding in some measure and in bringing to an equality, my engagements with those of the royal family. I was however forced to agree to it. I had no great pain to bring the duke to a liking of what I had done. He was so glad to find himself, even with the queen's consent, free from the necessity of breaking

with the prince, that he approved with all his heart whatever had facilitated the treaty. I will tell you what followed after it, but I must first desire you to observe two circumstances of what happened in this last conversation I had with the queen.

The first was, that in speaking to her of Messieurs le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne, I happened to name them the three sub-ministers. She took up these words with some anger, saying, "Rather say the two. Can that traitor Lionne be called by that name? He is but an under-secretary to the cardinal. It is true that because he has already betrayed him twice, he may become one day secretary of state." The event has made this saying worthy of observation.

The second is, that when I promised the queen to come to no accommodation with the prince, though the duke himself should afterwards do it, having added that I would declare it to the duke himself the next day, she cried aloud rather than said: "How surprizing will this be to le Tellier!" She closed up again immediately, and though I did what I could to penetrate her meaning, I could get nothing from her. I return to the duke.

I saw him the next morning in the dutchess's apartment. He was extremely well pleased with my negotiation, and he told me that as to the engagement which I had entered into with the queen in relation to myself, he could not be displeased with it, because he was himself firmly resolved (this conjuncture once past) never to concur in anything with the prince, provided that the queen would keep strict to her promise in relation to Mazarin's exclusion. The dutchess did her best to confirm him in these sentiments. She even made a new attempt to persuade him to begin at least that very day to try whether he could not prevail with the prince to change his mind. The duke found out some trifling excuses, and said that he could take more certain measures by staying that whole day, in expectation of what the prince would himself communicate unto him. The prince indeed sent him a gentleman about noon, but only to enquire after his health, or rather to know whether he should go the next day to the *Parlement*. The duke, who pretended to have taken physick that day, went to the queen however towards night. He solemnly confirmed what I had promised her by his order. He protested unto her that he would in no manner open himself concerning what she gave him leave to hope, that she would still yield for this time to the prince, if it was not in his power to prevail with him upon the matter of the sub-ministers. "I do it," said the queen, "out of pure regard

for you, and upon your promise that you will be for me in what relates to all the other pretensions of the prince, which, without doubt, will be infinite." She pressed him earnestly afterwards to perform sincerely what I had promised her in his name, which was to use his utmost efforts with the prince to make him desist from his demands against the ministers. The duke assured her that he had sent at noon the Marshal d'Estampes to St. Maur upon that account, which was true. He had changed his mind, after having refused it to the dutchess, as I have before told you. He even staid at the Palais-Royal for the prince's answer, which was negative, and which mentioned expressly that he would never desist from his instances. The duke came back to his own palace very much perplexed, at least as it seemed to me. He mused all the evening long, and he retired much sooner than ordinary.

The next day, which was Tuesday, July 11, the chambers assembled, and the Prince of Conti went to the *Parlement* very well accompanied. The duke told the company, that he had used all the efforts possible, both with the queen and with the prince, for an accommodation, but that he could prevail with neither, and that he desired the company to join their endeavours to his. The duke had no sooner done but the Prince of Conti spoke and said, that there was a gentleman from his brother at the door of the grand chamber. He was called in, and he delivered a letter from the Prince of Condé, which was properly but a copy of the first.

The first president continued pretty long to press the duke to renew his instances for an accommodation. He excused himself at first for no other reason but because it is common to most men to seek for intreaties even about the things they desire. He refused it afterwards, under pretence of the impossibility of succeeding in it, but in effect, as he confessed it to me that same day, because he was afraid of displeasing the Prince of Conti, or rather all the young counsellors, who were calling aloud for the deliberation against the remains of Mazarinianism. The first president was obliged to yield. The king's council were called in to take their conclusions upon the request of the prince. The heat against the sub-ministers appeared very great that day, and all the address of the first president, added to the coldness of the duke, who did not appear heated at all against them, could only obtain to have the deliberations put off to the next day, after an order however that the prince's letter should be that day carried to the queen. The duke was also desired by the company

to continue his offers for an accommodation. The heat that had appeared in the *Parlement*, added to that of the people in the hall, which was very great, gave occasion to the duke to applaud himself, for having rejected the advice I had given him, to oppose the prince's declaration against the sub-ministers. He even rallied me in some sort about it, at our coming out of the *Parlement;* to which I replied, that I begged of him that I might put off my answer to the next day at the same hour.

The duke went in the afternoon to Rambouillet, where he had given a rendezvous to the prince. He had there a long conversation with him in the garden, and he told me at night that he had omitted nothing to persuade him not to insist on his declaration against the ministers. He told the like to the dutchess, who was fully persuaded that it was true. I was the more inclined to believe it, because it is certain that he feared nothing more in the world than the return of the prince to Paris, and that he thought himself very sure that he would not return if the ministers staid at court. But the queen told me the next day, that she knew for certain that he combated for her but very weakly, and just, said she, as I should do if I was to fight sword in hand. It is impossible but that in the conversations which I have had since with the prince, I must have learnt the particulars of this, but I do not remember anything of what he may have told me about it. What is most certain, is that the easiness which he shewed in suffering the matter to be put in deliberation, persuaded the queen that he deceived her. She suspected that day, but much more the next, that I had my share in the deceit. You will see by the sequel that she continued not long to do me that injury.

The *Parlement* assembled the next day, which was the 12th, and the Advocate-General Talon made his report of the audience which he had had of the queen. Her majesty said only, that the prince's second letter being but a copy of the first, she had nothing to add to the answer she had made to it. The Duke of Orleans acquainted the company with the conferences that he had had the day before with the queen and with the prince, declaring that he could prevail with neither. He kept himself extremely close in respect to the sub-ministers, thinking thereby to satisfie the queen. He enlarged even with emphasis upon the causes of distrust given to the prince, as he pretended, fancying thereby that he should satisfie him. But he succeeded with neither. The queen was persuaded that he had not kept his promise to her, and she had room enough to believe it, though I

am not convinced that he really had been wanting to it. The prince likewise complained very much that evening of his conduct, or at least the Count de Fiesque told M. de Brissac so. Such is the fate of those who endeavour to reconcile contradictions in pleasing both sides.

Talon having taken his conclusions, which for this time did not reveal his usual firmness, for they appeared rather an affected nonsense than a discourse worthy of that assembly, they began to vote. Two motions were opened at first. The one agreed with Talon's conclusions, which were for thanking the queen for the fresh assurances which she had given that Mazarin's removal was to be for ever; and for desiring her to give the prince some satisfaction: this is what I have just now called nonsense. The other motion was that of Deslandes-Payen, who, though a near relation of Lionne's, declaimed against the three sub-ministers, and voted that the company should demand expressly their removal. You will easily judge that I did not oppose this opinion in the *Parlement*, though I had opposed it in the duke's cabinet. I mixed with my advice, certain strokes which served to distinguish me from the multitude, that is from those who were blindly led to vote against the name of Mazarin. That distinction was necessary to me in respect to the queen, and was useful to me in respect to all those who did not approve of the prince's conduct. They were many in the *Parlement;* and old Laîné himself, counsellor of the grand chamber, a man of little sense, but of an upright life, and a great enemy to Mazarin, declared however openly against the prince's demand, affirming that it was injurious to the royal authority. That circumstance, added to some others, obliged the duke to confess to me that evening, that I had judged better than he, and that if he had opposed the proposal, as I had advised him, he would have been much applauded for it, and followed by a great many; but by not speaking against it, he made people believe that he approved of it, so that even those who would have opposed it, though against the grain, came into it joyfully. I was not considerable enough to work in people's minds the same effect that the duke might have done by opposing it, which was my reason for not doing so. But perceiving that if he had opposed it, he had been followed by a great many, I thought that that was enough to encourage me, without any fear of doing myself an injury by it with the publick, to give some indirect attacks to an action of which it was by all means necessary to diminish the merit, though I was obliged in regard both to the duke

and to the publick to contribute to it, at least with my vote. I understand this nonsense much better than I am able to explain it, and it is certain that it cannot be comprehended rightly but by those who were at that time at the deliberations. I have observed, perhaps more than twenty times, that what passed there at one instant for undeniably good, had undeniably passed for bad the next instant, if another turn had been given to a form, often of small consequence, or to a word sometimes frivolous. The difficulty is to know how to discern and make use of those instants. It was in this that the duke failed. I tried to supply it in what concerned me, in a manner that should not give any room to the prince to say that I spared the remains of Mazarinianism, and by which I might however blemish in some sort the prince's conduct. These are the very words which I used in delivering my opinion, which I caused the next day to be printed and published all over Paris, for a reason which I shall by and by explain to you:

"I have [1] always been persuaded that it were to be wished that no distrust had ever appeared in the minds of people about the return of Cardinal Mazarin, and that it had been even looked upon as an impossible thing. His removal having been judged necessary by the common desire of the whole kingdom, it seems that the entertaining any doubts about his return implies in it doubts about the safety of the kingdom, because that could not happen without throwing infallibly the state into confusion and disorder. If the jealousies which appear upon that subject in the minds of people, are well grounded, they will infallibly produce that fatal effect; and if they have no foundation, they will however afford a good ground to fear the dangerous effects that will follow them, by serving as a pretence to all manner of innovations.

"To extinguish them at once, and to take away from one side their hopes, and from the other their pretences, I judge that we ought on this occasion to leave nothing uncertain in our determinations; and there being a talk of many negotiations that alarm the publick and keep people's minds unquiet, I think that it would be necessary to declare those that shall either negotiate with the cardinal, or enter into any steps whatsoever about his return, criminals, and perturbators of the publick peace.

[1] This speech is inserted, though with some alterations, in the *Memoirs* of Joli, who pretends to have had a hand, together with M. de Caumartin, in the composing of it.

"If the sentiments which his royal highness expressed some months ago in this company, upon the subject of those that were named, had been followed, affairs would now have another face. People had not fallen into these distrusts; the quiet of the state would now be assured, and we should not be at this time put to the trouble of supplicating his royal highness, as it is my advice to do, to use his credit with the queen for the removing from court the remains of Mazarinianism, and the creatures of Cardinal Mazarin who have been named. I know that the manner in which this removal is asked for, is extraordinary. It is certain that if the aversion of one of the princes of the blood who always ruled the lives of private people, that dependency would diminish very much the authority of the king, and the liberty of his subjects: and it might be said that privy counsellors and others, who subsist only by means of the court, would have many masters.

"I believe however that an exception ought to be made on this occasion. The affair in debate is in some sort a natural consequence of that relating to Cardinal Mazarin. We are upon a removal that may dissipate many jealousies which are entertained about his return; upon a removal which cannot but be very advantagious; which has been desired, and proposed to this company by the Duke of Orleans, whose intentions, altogether pure and sincere, for the king's service and the good of the kingdom, are known to all Europe, and whose sentiments are not to be drawn into precedent by anybody because he is uncle to the king, and lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

"We ought to hope from the prudence of their majesties, and from the wise conduct of the Duke of Orleans, that things will take a better turn, that diffidences will cease, and jealousies be removed, and that we shall quickly see union restored in the royal family, which has always been the prayer of all honest men, who chiefly moved by that consideration, have wished for the liberty of the princes with such earnestness, that they have thought themselves extremely happy when they have been able to contribute to it by their suffrages.

"That I may therefore give my opinion in form: my advice is, to declare those who shall either negotiate with the cardinal, or enter into any steps whatsoever about his return, criminals, and perturbators of the publick peace; to supplicate most humbly the Duke of Orleans, to use his credit with the queen for the removing from court the creatures of the cardinal who have been named, and to support the remonstrances of the company upon

that subject; to thank his royal highness for the continual care he takes for the re-union of the royal family, which is of such importance to the tranquility of this state and indeed of all Christendom, that I dare affirm that it is the only one previous thing necessary to a general peace."

I must desire you to observe that the duke would absolutely have me mention him, in my speech, as the first author of the proposal against the sub-ministers, because he made no doubt but that it would meet with a general approbation; and that I obeyed him in that point, but very unwillingly, because I did not judge that what he had said from time to time in very general terms against the friends of the cardinal was ground enough to mention and to maintain so specifick a fact as that was. But I must likewise desire you to observe that the emotion in which people were, was the cause that it was received for as good as if it had been altogether true; that this emotion however, though great, did not hinder many persons from reflecting seriously on what M. Laîné had clearly expressed in delivering his opinion, and on what I had touched upon in mine, of the wound given to the royal authority; that the duke, who perceived it, was sorry to have gone on so fast, and that he thought he might safely and without injuring himself with the publick, retreat a little. What a multitude of opposite sentiments! What disagreement! What confusion in all these doings! People admire them in history; they are not felt in action. Nothing appeared more natural than what was done and said on that day. I have reflected on it since, and I confess that to this moment I can hardly conceive the multitude, the variety, and the agitation of the sentiments, which my memory brings into my mind. But as at last people came insensibly to be pretty much of the same opinion, what had preceded was hardly taken notice of or felt, and I remember that Deslandes Payen was telling me at the rising of this day's assembly: "It is a fine thing to see a company so well united!" Observe I beseech you that the duke, who could discern things better, perceived very well that that union was of a nature which made him own to me, that the same men who voted in so uniform a manner that indeed it seemed as if nearly all had acted in concert; that he owned, I say, that these very men had sided with him if he had declared against the proposal. He was sorry not to have done it, but he was ashamed, and with good reason, to change his opinion of a sudden, and he contented himself with commanding

me to let the queen know by the Princess Palatine, that he hoped to find an opportunity of giving his advice in another manner.

The queen's answer was, that I should meet her at her oratory at midnight. She appeared to me to be incensed to the last degree at what had passed in the morning at the *Parlement*. She spoke of the duke as of a perfidious man, and her manner of distinguishing me, was to let me feel the more that she thought no better of me at the bottom of her heart. It was not difficult for me to justify myself, and to let her see that I neither could nor ought to have given my opinion in another manner than that I had done, and as I had told her before that I would do, as the case stood. I beseeched her to observe that my advice was as much against the prince as against the cardinal. I even excused the duke's conduct as much as it was in my power, because indeed he had not promised her not to vote against the ministers; and when I saw that my reasons had no manner of effect upon her, and that prepossession, the nature of which is to arm itself chiefly against facts, made her find reasons to suspect even those that ought to have appeared the clearest to her, I thought that the only means to remove her doubts, was to clear what was past by what was to come, having many times experienced that the only remedy against prejudice is hope. I therefore flattered the queen with the hope that the duke would grow milder in the following deliberations, which were to last a day or two longer. But as I foresaw that this mildness of the duke would not be such as would be necessary for the preserving the sub-ministers, I took care to allay what I was speaking of, with a little too much exaggeration about the success, by a proposal that justified me beforehand, in case the event should prove otherwise.

That conduct is always good when one has to do with persons whose nature leads them never to judge but by the event; because the same character of mind that occasions this defect, is likewise the reason why they never judge constantly of effects by their causes. Upon that ground I proposed to the queen to print and publish, the next day, the speech I had made in the *Parlement*, and I made use of that offer to persuade her that if I had not thought myself very sure that the end of the deliberation would not be advantagious to the prince, I should not aggravate, by an action of this nature, done without necessity, what I had already done in declaring myself against her, more than ever common prudence gave me leave to do.

The queen embraced easily a proposal that pleased her. She

thought that it proceeded from no other cause than that which I had mentioned. The satisfaction which she found in that thought, brought insensibly into her mind more favourable ideas of what had passed in the morning. It made her enter more calmly into the detail of what might happen the next day, and it was the cause that when she knew twenty-four hours after that the duke's relenting would not be so useful to her, at least in the present conjuncture, as she had imagined, she ceased to lay the blame upon me. One must not use this sort of dealings with everybody; they are only good with persons that have short views and are of a passionate temper. If the queen had been capable of observation and of reflection, in respect to what was passing, or rather if she had been served by persons who would have preferred her true interest to their own preservation, she would have seen that there was no other way in that conjuncture, but to yield, as she had promised the duke, since his royal highness went no further for her majesty. She was not as yet capable of hearing the truth upon that subject, and less from me than from any other. This was the reason that made me disguise it to her, as others did; and I thought myself obliged to it, to be in a condition to serve her afterwards, and to serve likewise the duke and the publick.

The next day, which was July 13, the *Parlement* assembled. The deliberation was continued, and went on almost all the while upon the same foot, excepting five or six votes that were for declaring the three sub-ministers perturbators of the publick quiet. Somebody, whose name I have forgot, added to them the Abbot of Montaigu.

Upon the 14th the decree was given in the *Parlement* conformably to the duke's opinion, which carried it by a majority of 109 against 62. The contents of the decree were, that the queen should be thanked for her promise of not recalling the cardinal; that she should be most humbly desired to send the declaration about the cardinal to the *Parlement*, and to give the Prince of Condé all necessary sureties for his return; that those who entertained any commerce with the cardinal should immediately be informed against. The duke, who prevented the naming of the sub-ministers in the decree, thought that he had done more than he had ever promised the queen. Neither did he doubt but that the prince must be satisfied with him, because the sureties that were asked about his return, implied in it certainly, though tacitly, the removal of the sub-ministers. The duke came away from the *Parlement* mighty well pleased with

himself, but nobody was so with him. The queen took what he had done for double dealing, ridiculous in him, and of no service to her. The prince took it as a sign only that the duke was intent upon keeping measures with the court. The queen did not dissemble her true sentiments, the prince did not dissemble his enough. The Dutchess of Orleans, who was very much incensed, represented the thoughts of them both to his royal highness in the most lively colours. The duke was frighted; and fear, that never applies fit remedies, obliged him to make submission to the queen, which being carried beyond measure, increased the diffidence which she had of him; and to make advances to the prince, which had an effect directly contrary to that which the duke the most ardently desired. His only aim was to please both sides, but to do it in a manner that might prevent the prince's coming back to court, and that might oblige him to stay peaceably in his government. The only way to attain that last end, was to procure him advantages which might satisfy him for the time to come, but that did not insure him against the present, at least not enough to venture to come back to Paris. This is what I had proposed to him, and what the dutchess had countenanced with all her power. The duke saw the usefulness of it, and approved it; his weakness made him take a quite opposite road. He took away from the queen, by his low and false excuses, the belief which was necessary, to bring her in concert even with him to a reasonable accommodation with the prince. He gave the prince so many assurances of his friendship for him, with a view to make him amends for the regard which he had shewn for the sub-ministers, that whether the prince relied on his assurances, or whether he trusted to the fear which he knew that the duke had for him, he resolved to come back to Paris, under pretence that Cardinal Mazarin's creatures being removed, he feared no longer to be arrested. I shall open this new scene, after I have desired you to make an observation, which shews in my opinion, as much as anything in the world, the privilege and the excellence of sincerity.

The duke had not promised the queen that he would not declare against the sub-ministers: on the contrary, he had told her in express terms that he would do it. He did it but by halves, he shewed a regard for them, he saved them the shame of being mentioned by name in the decree; he fell into no passion with the queen, though she was herself wanting in the promise she had made him of abandoning them, in case he could not hinder the prince from attacking them. Notwithstanding this, the queen

complained of the duke with a harshness not to be conceived. She upbraided him that very afternoon, speaking to him in as rude and as violent manner, as if he had been guilty of all imaginable treachery towards her. She pretended that she was disengaged by the duke's proceeding, from the promise she had made him, not to contend too obstinately for the preservation of the sub-ministers; and she not only said it, but she believed it, because the duke, after the conversation in which the dutchess had frighted him, sent the Marshal d'Estampes to her majesty to ask of her, properly speaking, an absolution; and because he himself asked it of her in the afternoon, with such excuses, as she told me, that none but a guilty man could have used.

I went to her at night by the duke's command, but made her no apology on my own account. I took it for granted that she could not have forgot what I had beforehand promised her to do on this occasion. She remembered it in a kind manner, and told me in express terms that she had no reason to complain of me; which words I clearly perceived she spoke from her heart. The Princess Palatine, who was present at our conversation, said to the queen: "What would not sincerity do in the conduct of a son of France, when in that of a coadjutor of Paris, who has been so contrary to your will, it obliges your majesty to commend it." The princess left nothing unsaid to give the queen to understand that she ought not to wait till the remonstrances of the *Parlement* were brought to her, before she removed the sub-ministers, since her dignity would be better preserved by preventing them. But she could gain nothing upon her mind, or rather upon the sharpness of her temper, by which she was altogether governed at certain instants. The Marshal d'Estrées has told me since, that she was moved on this occasion by something else besides that sharpness of temper, and that Chavigny flattered her that he could oblige the prince to admit of explanations of the decree. What makes me believe that the marshal was in the right, is that I know for certain that Chavigny pressed at that time the first president to soften a little the remonstrances: upon which the first president's answer was remarkable, and worthy of a great magistrate: "Sir," said he, "you have been one of those who have carried things furthest against the sub-ministers: you have changed your mind; I have nothing to say to it; but the *Parlement* is still the same."

The queen was, during that whole day, of another opinion than the first president, for she believed, as it seemed to me, that the decree might admit of favourable explanations, and that

perhaps the first president might himself make use of these explanations in the remonstrances. She did not do him justice on this occasion, as you shall see by and by.

That decree was given on July 14, and the sub-ministers not being mentioned in it by name, it opened a large field to reflections, and consequently to negotiations, from the 14th to the 18th, which was the day that the remonstrances were made. I could give you an account of what was said about it, but that being, properly speaking, nothing else but the reports or the echo of St. Maur and of the Palais-Royal, spread as it is likely designedly among the publick, I believe that what I should relate about it would prove as superfluous as uncertain.

I will therefore content myself with telling you, that what I could discover of it at that time, was only a ridiculous eagerness in all the subalterns of the two parties for negotiating. That eagerness in conjunctures like this is always followed with negotiations, but it is certain that it still produces more imaginary ones than real ones. Fortune gave room to these negotiations, by causing the remonstrances, for want of the decrees being signed and by reason of some obstacle very natural on the side of the Palais-Royal, to be delayed till the 18th. *Any gap that happens in times of faction, and of intrigues, passes for mysterious with all those who are not used to great affairs.* That gap, which was filled up during the 15th, the 16th, and the 17th with nothing else but negotiations which proved by the event to have hardly anything of substance in them, was entirely closed upon the 18th, the day that the remonstrances were presented. The first president, who presented them, spoke with all possible vigour, and though he kept within the terms of the decree by not naming the sub-ministers, he described them so well, that the queen complained of it, even angrily, saying that the first president was of an incomprehensible humour, and was more troublesome than those who had the worst intentions. These were her words in mentioning this to me; and having taken the liberty to tell her that the chief of a company could not without prevarication forbear explaining the sentiments of his company, though his private sentiments agreed not with them; she replied with anger: "These are republican maxims." My reason for mentioning this little detail, is only because it will give you a true idea of the misfortunes which befal monarchies, when those who govern them know nothing of their most equitable rules, nor of their most common evils. I will give you an account of what followed the remonstrances, after I have told

you a story, which happened at the *Parlement* at the time of the deliberations of which I have just now spoken.

The singularity of the subject brought thither many ladies, who could see the assembly and hear the speeches from the lanternes. Madam and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse came thither with many others, on July 13, the day before the decree was given. These two ladies were picked out from among the rest by one Maillard, a bawling man, hired by the party of the princes. It being natural for ladies to fear a crowd, they came not out of the lanternes till after the duke and everybody were retired. They were saluted in the hall with the hooting of twenty or thirty rascals of the same rank as their chief, who was a cobbler by profession. My name was not spared amongst them. I did not learn this piece of news till I came to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, where I went to dinner after I had waited on the duke to his palace. I found Madam de Chevreuse in a rage, and her daughter all in tears. I tried to appease them, by assuring them that they should quickly be revenged of these insolent fellows, upon whom I offered to have an exemplary punishment inflicted that same day. These unworthy victims were rejected even with a shew of indignation for their having been so much as proposed. Nothing would serve but the blood of the Bourbons to repair the affront done to the blood of Lorrain.

These were Madam de Chevreuse's very words, and all the medium which Madam de Rhodes, instructed by Caumartin, could bring to be accepted of, was that the ladies should return the next day to the *Parlement*, with such attendance as would put them in a condition of making themselves respected, and of giving the Prince of Conti to understand, that it was his interest to prevent those of his party from committing any more insolences. Montrésor, who happened by chance to be at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, said all he could to give the ladies an apprehension of the inconveniencies there were to make a publick affair of a private one, at a time when it might be attended with consequences no less terrible than the loss of a prince of the blood. When he saw that all his endeavours were superfluous, both with the mother and daughter, he turned short upon me, and did all that lay in his power to oblige me to put off my resentment to another time. He even took me aside, to represent to me the more freely the joy and triumph of my enemies, if I suffered myself to be governed by the impetuosity of these ladies. I answered him in these very words: "I am in the wrong, both in regard to my profession, and even to the

affairs I have on my hands, to be so far engaged as I am with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse; but considering that engagement into which I am entered, and upon which it is too late to deliberate, I am in the right to seek for satisfaction, and to do it effectually, in the present conjuncture. I will not cause the Prince of Conti to be assassinated, but the lady may command me anything except poisoning or assassination. You must say no more to me about it." Caumartin thought at that same time upon the expedient which I have mentioned, which was to go to the *Parlement* in a triumphant manner, not as upon a good expedient, but as upon one in which there was the least evil, considering the ladies' disposition. He went to propose it to Madam de Rhodes, who had an influence over Madam de Chevreuse, and it was approved. The ladies appeared the next day in the lanternes, attended by above 400 gentlemen, and above 4000 of the most substantial citizens. The mob, who used to make a noise in the hall, vanished away all in a fright; and the Prince of Conti, who had had no notice of the assembling such a number of people, which had been contrived and executed with an inconceivable secrecy, was obliged, as he passed by, to make low bows both to Madam and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse; and to suffer Maillard, who was taken upon the stairs of the holy chapel, to be soundly cudgelled. This was the manner in which ended one of the nicest adventures that has happened to me in the whole course of my life. The event might have given it a cruel and pernicious turn, because though I did nothing but what I was obliged to do, considering the circumstances, my reputation ran almost as great a risk of being lost as my fortune did, if things had happened as it was natural to expect they should. I saw all the inconveniencies, and yet I hazarded them all, and have even never reproached myself with that action as a faulty one, because I have been persuaded that it was of the nature of those which politicks condemn, and which morality justifies. I come now to what followed after the remonstrances.

The queen answered them with a countenance more gay and more free than ordinary. She told the deputies that she would send the very next day the declaration against Cardinal Mazarin to the *Parlement;* and as to what concerned the prince, she would let the company know her pleasure, after she had conferred about it with the Duke of Orleans. That conference, which was held that same evening, produced outwardly the effect that was wished, for the queen told the duke that she would yield as to the removal of the sub-ministers, in case he really desired it.

The truth is, that she affected to set off to him a thing which she was resolved upon since morning, much less upon the remonstrances of the *Parlement*, than upon the leave she had received from Brühl to do it. We guessed at it (the Princess Palatine and I) because that change in her appeared just at the time that we were informed of the arrival of Marsac from thence, the night before. It was not long before we knew the particulars of his dispatches, which were, that the cardinal sent the queen word that she ought not to stand wavering about the removal of the sub-ministers, and that her enemies did her service in giving no bounds to their rage. Bartet gave me an account some days after of the contents of the letter, which was very fine. The duke came back to his palace triumphing in his imagination.

The queen sent the very next day for the deputies, to command them to acquaint the *Parlement* with her resolution. That which the prince took upon the 21st to come and take his seat there, surprized the duke to a degree which I am not able to express, though there was nothing surprizing in it. I have several times foretold it him. He came thither about eight in the morning, with M. de la Rochefoucauld, and fifty or sixty gentlemen with him. Finding the chambers assembled for the reception of two counsellors, he told the company that he came to rejoice with them for having obtained the removal of the ministers, but that there could be no reliance made on that removal, but by inserting an article in the declaration which the queen had promised to send to the *Parlement*. The first president answered him very civilly, beginning with a recital of what had passed at the Palais-Royal, and adding afterwards that it would become neither the duty nor the respect owed to the queen, to be every day asking her new conditions; that the queen's word was sufficient of itself; that she was so kind besides as to make the *Parlement* her trustee for it; that it were to be wished that the prince had expressed the trust which he ought to repose in it, by going directly to the Palais-Royal, rather than come to that of justice; that speaking to him from the seat in which he was, he could not forbear to express his wonder to him upon that conduct. The prince answered him, that the sad experience which he had lately had in his prison ought to prevent people's wonder, that he should no longer expose himself without precaution; that it was notoriously true that Cardinal Mazarin reigned more absolutely than ever in the cabinet; that from that consideration, he was that moment going to confer with his royal highness upon that subject, and that he beseeched the company not to

deliberate about anything which concerned him, but in his royal highness's presence. He went after this to the duke's, to whom he spoke of his coming to the *Parlement* as of a thing which they had concerted together the day before at Rambouillet, where it is certain that they had been walking together at least for two or three hours.

What is surprizing in this, is that the duke at his return from Rambouillet, told the dutchess that the prince was so much scared (he made use of that word) that he believed he would not venture to come back to Paris till ten years after the cardinal's death; and that after his seeing the prince, who came to him from the *Parlement*, he spoke to me in these very terms: "The prince would not yesterday come back to Paris; he is this day come, and for the singularity of the matter, I must act with him as if he was come in concert with me. He tells me himself that we resolved upon it yesterday together." You must observe that the prince, to whom I spoke of this seven or eight years after, assured me that he had told the duke at Rambouillet, that he would come to the *Parlement;* that he perceived by his countenance that he had been better pleased if he had not come; but that he did not oppose his coming, and seemed even glad of it the next day, when he went to him from the *Parlement*. The effects produced by weakness are inconceivable, and I affirm that they are even more prodigious than those of the most violent passions: it assembles together oftner than any other passion things opposite to one another.

The prince went back to St. Maur, and the duke went to the queen, to make her some excuses, or rather to explain to her the reasons of the prince's visiting him. The queen perceived very well, by the trouble his royal highness was in, that his conduct was rather an effect of his weakness than of his ill-will. She took pity on him, but of that sort of pity that leads to contempt, and that turns immediately after to anger. She could not therefore prevent shewing the duke much more of this last than she herself intended, and she told the Princess Palatine that evening that it was harder than it was thought, to dissemble with those one despises. The queen ordered the Princess Palatine at the same time to tell me in her name that she knew that I had no share in these infamous actions (that was her word) of the duke's, and that she made no doubt but that I would keep the promise I had given her to declare myself openly against the prince, in case that after the removal of the sub-ministers he continued to trouble the court. The duke, who thought that he should in

some sort satisfy the queen by approving that conduct, was extremely glad when I told him that I could not excuse myself from executing the thing which he had himself thought good that I should promise. I saw the queen the next day; I assured her, that if the prince came back to Paris accompanied and armed as the report went, I would appear in the like manner; and that, provided she continued to give me leave to speak and to print pamphlets as I had done against the cardinal, I gave her my word that I would not yield the prince the wall, but would keep it by giving out that the cardinal and his creatures being removed, it was not just to continue to make use of their names, to destroy the royal authority, for the sake of some private interests.

I cannot express the satisfaction which the queen shewed me, and she even spoke these words to me, which she let fall unawares: "You were some time since telling me, that men will not believe others capable of doing what they themselves are not capable of: how true this is!" I did not understand at that time the meaning of these words. Bartet explained them to me some time after, the queen having repeated them to him at a time when she complained that the sub-ministers, but chiefly le Tellier, who was no farther off the court than Chaville, preferred their hatred to me to her service, and sent her word daily that I deceived her; that it was I who obliged the duke to act as he did; and that she would quickly see, that I should not make head against the prince, except I did it in concert with him. All that I have been mentioning happened between Friday, July 21, and Sunday night the 23rd. Just as I was going that night to bed, I received a note from the Princess Palatine, acquainting me that she staid at the end of the Pont-Neuf for me. I met her there in a hackney coach, which the Chevalier de la Vieuville drove, and she had time only to bid me go with all possible haste to the Palais-Royal. At my arrival the queen told me with a troubled countenance, that she had that moment been informed, that for certain the Prince of Condé was to go the next day to the *Parlement*, with a numerous attendance, to ask for the assembly of the chambers, and to oblige the company to have the exclusion of the sub-ministers inserted in the declaration against the cardinal; "for which," added she with an anger that appeared natural to me, "I should care but little if their interests were only concerned in it; but you see," continued she, "that there is no end of the prince's pretensions, and that he aims at all, if means are not found to stop him. He

is just now arrived from St. Maur, and the advice, as you will own, that has been given me of his design, and upon which I have sent for you, is good. What will the duke do? What will you do?" I told the queen that she knew very well by past experience that I could hardly answer for the duke; but that I could give her my word that I would do my very best to oblige him to act in the manner that he ought to do in this occasion, for her interest; and that in case he did not do his duty, I would however convince her majesty, that it would in no manner be my fault. I promised her to go myself to the *Parlement* with all my friends, and that my behaviour there should be to her satisfaction.

I made her even consent, that if I could not oblige the duke to declare himself for her, I should use all my endeavours to persuade him to go at least for some days to Limours, under pretence of his health, which would let both the *Parlement* and the publick see, that he disapproved of the prince's conduct. All these overtures pleased the queen infinitely, and she expressed an impatience for my going to the duke, whom I found in bed with the dutchess. I caused them to be awakened, and gave them an account of my commission. The duke, at whose house the prince had alighted at his arrival, had of himself thought upon the expedient which I had resolved to propose to him, and he had told the prince, who pressed him to go the next day to the *Parlement*, that it was a thing impossible, and that he found himself so ill, that he was obliged to go to Limours for some days to take the air.

I committed a notable error upon this occasion, for instead of setting off this journey to the queen as the effect of what I had promised her to do, I only sent her word by Bartet, who staid for me at the end of the street called de Tournon, that I had found him resolved to go to Limours. As persons of little sense will never think anything natural which may be the effect of art, the queen could not imagine that that resolution of the duke's could by meer chance agree so well with the proposal I had made to her at the Palais-Royal. That put her again upon suspecting me of entering into all the duke's measures: but those she saw me take afterwards made her repent, as she herself owned to me, of having done me this wrong.

My first step was my going the next day, which was Monday, July 24, to the *Parlement*, with a good number of gentlemen, and of citizens of the better sort. The prince came into the grand chamber, and demanded the assembly of the chambers. The first

president refused it without any hesitation, telling him that he could not do it so long as he had not seen the king. Many words arose upon that, in which the time of the whole sitting was spent. The court rose up, and the prince returned to St. Maur, from whence he sent Chavigny to the duke, with complaints stronger and sharper than those he had himself made to him the day before; for I have forgot to tell you that when the duke acquainted the prince with his design of spending some days at Limours, the prince seemed to be not much concerned at it. I do not know what obliged him to change his mind; I only know that he changed it, and that Chavigny, by his order, pressed the duke to come back to Paris, in such a manner as obliged him to comply.

He sent Jouy to me as he was entering his coach, to command me to tell the queen that she should see by the event that his return was for her service. I did exactly as I was commanded, but Jouy having informed me that the means which Chavigny had used to persuade the duke were only the putting him in fear of the prince, I had room to believe that the continuance of that fear might oblige the duke to explain afterwards that service which he promised the queen, in a manner that would not please her, and I therefore thought fit to assure her majesty of my particular service, in much stronger, and more positive terms, than that of the duke's. She observed it, and confided in it, which seldom fails to happen when the offers are immediately to be followed by effects. It is what she told the duke, who went directly from Limours to the Palais-Royal, and who would have persuaded her that his return was the effect of the desire he had to manage and moderate, said he, the passionate temper of the prince. But seeing that she could not make him explain himself upon what he was to do the next day at the *Parlement* for her service, she said to him in the loudest and sharpest tone; "Always for me for the time to come; always against me for the present."

She then fell to threats, and afterwards thundered. The duke was frightened and his fright continued after he was come to his own palace, having met the dutchess there, who told him all that the violent passion she was in could suggest to her. I did not help to hide from him the abyss which the dutchess shewed him. What Chavigny had told him that had made most impression upon him, was the people's hatred, which he had shewed him as unavoidable, if he appeared to disagree in the least with the prince, whose steps were all directly turned against the

cardinal. The dutchess, who was not ignorant of his scruples, or rather weakness upon that point, which was represented to him at every instant in the most frightful colours, proposed to him to bring the queen to give the *Parlement* new hopes about the declaration against the cardinal, and of the sub-ministers being removed for ever from the court. The duke added, "and of the safety of the prince." The dutchess, to whom the duke had said over and over an hundred times that he feared nothing so much in the world as the return of the prince, fell into a passion at that word, and she represented to him that he seemed to take delight in acting continually against his interest, and against his views. The conclusion was, that he had entered still into engagements for this time, which he must perform; but that after this assembly of the chambers, at which he could not refuse the prince to be present, he would certainly go to Limours, and mind there his health, and that he would leave the prince to make an end of his own affairs as he should think fit. He added likewise, that it was the queen's business to send on her side such messages to the *Parlement* as might prevent their giving credit there to the favourable appearances which the court gave a thousand times in a day in favour of Mazarin. The dutchess sent the queen an account that very evening of what had passed between her, the duke and me; and the first president, to whom the queen had immediately sent M. de Brienne to advise with, returned her word, that in effect it would be very fit that she should send the next morning a *lettre de cachet* to the *Parlement*, ordering therein the company to come to her by deputies about eleven, and there cause the chancellor to tell them in her presence that she expected that they should have come some days before to the chancellor's, to go about the declaration against Cardinal Mazarin; that she should herself add that she had sent for them, that she might make the *Parlement* depositaries of the royal word, which she gave the Prince of Condé, that he might stay at Paris with all safety; that she had no manner of thought of causing him to be arrested; that Messieurs le Tellier, Servien and Lionne were removed for ever, and without any hopes of being recalled. This is what the first president sent in writing to the queen, desiring M. de Brienne to assure her majesty, that if she would give a declaration of that nature, he would oblige the prince to moderate himself; he made use of that expression.

The next day, which was Tuesday, July 26, the *Parlement* assembled. Saintot, lieutenant of the ceremonies, brought the *lettre de cachet*; the first president went to the Palais-Royal

with twelve counsellors of each chamber. The chancellor spoke in the manner I have expressed, and the queen likewise. The duke went to Limours, declaring that he could not come back from thence till the Monday following; and the prince, who had much encreased his retinue, and given them richer liveries, instead of returning to St. Maur, went with a great number of attendants, and even with great pomp, to the Hôtel de Condé, where he lay that night.

I dare say that you have for some time been expecting from me the detail of what passed in the prince's party, or rather a description of the inside of that great machine, the motions of which have appeared to you, if I am not mistaken, singular enough to excite in you a curiosity of knowing the springs that put it into action. But it is impossible for me to satisfy this desire, both because I have forgot an infinite number of circumstances relating to it, and because I remember in general that the multitude of different interests that agitated that body and all its parts, confounded so much, even at that time, the images of things, that I could hardly see any one of them distinctly. Madam de Longueville, M. de Bouillon, Messieurs de Nemours, de la Rochefoucauld, and de Chavigny, formed an inexplicable chaos of intentions and intrigues, not only distinct, but opposite. I know very well that those who were the most engaged in that cause, owned that they could not unravel that confusion. I indeed remember that Viole informed an intimate friend of his upon the last day of July 1651, of the reasons that engaged Madam de Longueville to go to Mouron; but I likewise remember that Croissy, upon August 4, gave to the man in the world whom he would least have deceived, reasons for that journey directly opposite to the other's. I recall to my remembrance twenty circumstances of that nature, which give me no other light into that detail than what I need to assure you that if I should enter into the particulars of all the motions of the prince, and of those of his party at that time, I should give you, properly speaking, but a very defective draft of the conjectures which we formed at a venture every morning, and which we condemned every evening at random.

The Fronde being better united together, I am persuaded that those of the contrary party were better able to judge rightly of it: but I am however no less persuaded, that those who would undertake to give an exact account of all our steps during those movements, would often fall into mistakes. As for my part, I give you only a faithful account of what I certainly know, and

it is for that reason that I have touched but very lightly upon what passed at St. Maur. One might write volumes of all that was said about it at that time, and Madam de Longueville's resolution of retiring into Berry with the Princess of Condé, had alone as many different interpretations as there were men or women that were pleased to judge of it. I return to what passed in the *Parlement*.

I have acquainted you with the Duke of Orleans's resolution of going for the second time to Limours. The Prince of Condé being informed of it, came to him at ten at night to make his complaints, and he obliged him to send the first president word, that he would be on the Monday following at the assembly of the chambers. But as this engagement was only the effect of his weakness, which would not give him leave to contradict the prince to his face, he feigned on the Sunday to be sick, and sent to excuse himself for not going the next day to the *Parlement*. The prince caused some counsellors of the chambers of inquests to go upon the Tuesday into the grand chamber, to ask for an assembly. The first president excused himself, by reason of the duke's absence. Upon this murmurs arose, which were represented to the duke as greater than they were. Chavigny shewed him the prince in all his pomp, lording it in the streets with stately liveries, and a numerous attendance. The duke feared that he would render himself master of the people, except he went to share with him the clamours against Mazarin. He was told that upon the Sunday night the women had cried in the street of St. Honoré, as the king went by in his coach, "No Mazarin." He was told that the prince had met the king at the Cours, with as great an attendance at least as his majesty. This put him into a fright. He came back on the Tuesday to Paris, and he went on Wednesday, August 2, to the *Parlement*, whither I failed not to go likewise, accompanied by all my friends, and by a very great number of the better sort of citizens. The first president made his report of what had passed upon July 26 at the Palais-Royal, and he greatly magnified the queen's goodness in depositing in the hands of *Parlement* her promise in relation to the safety of the prince. He afterwards asked his highness whether he had seen the king? The prince said that he had not; that there was no safety for him, and that he was informed from good hands that there had been lately secret conferences held in order to arrest him; and that he would at a convenient time name the authors of these counsels. In pronouncing these last words he looked on me haughtily, and in

a manner that caused everybody to cast their eyes upon me. He went on afterwards, and said that Ondedei was expected that night at Paris, coming from Brühl; that Bartet, Fouquet, Silhon, Brachet, were continually upon the road thither; that M. de Mercœur had lately married one of the Mancinis;[1] that the Marshal d'Aumont had orders to divide up the regiments of Condé, of Conti, and of Enghien, and that these orders were the only cause that had prevented their joining the king's army.

After the prince had done speaking, the first president said, that it was with pain that he saw him in that place, not having as yet seen the king, as if he intended thereby to set up altar against altar. The prince grew angry at that word, and in justifying himself he said that those who spoke against him did it only for the sake of their private interest. The first president replied to this boldly, that he never had any such view, but that he was answerable for his actions to none but the king. He enlarged afterwards upon the misfortunes that the state might fall into by the divisions in the royal family; then addressing himself to the prince, he said in a very pathetick manner: "Is it possible, sir, that you have not been struck with horror, in reflecting upon what passed on Monday last at the Cours?" The prince answered, that he had been vexed at it to the last degree, but that it was an accidental thing not occasioned by his fault, because there was no room for him to imagine that he could meet the king there after his bathing, the weather being so cold.

There happened at that instant two mistakes, which had like to have shifted the scene, and to have turned it against me. The duke, who heard a great applause given to what the prince had said last, the company finding that he had cleared himself very well, as indeed he had, of the last charge against him, which of itself was not very favourable; the duke, I say, did not perceive that the applause given the prince was only in respect to this last point. He fancied that the company, for the most part, approved what the prince had said in relation to the danger his person was exposed to; he was afraid to be included amongst those that were suspected, and thought fit therefore to exclude himself. He said that it was true, that the prince's distrust was not without foundation; that M. de Mercœur's marriage was real, and that there was a great correspondence kept on foot with Mazarin. The first president, who saw that the duke was in some manner supporting what the prince had said of the danger to which he was exposed, in the same discourse wherein he had

[1] Nieces to Cardinal Mazarin.

pointed at me, thought that his royal highness had forsaken me; and being better affected to the prince than to me, (though he was still better affected to the court than to the prince) he turned to the left of a sudden, saying to the eldest counsellor: "Sir, your opinion?" He made no doubt but that in a deliberation, the subject of which was the safety of the prince, there would be many voices that would take notice of me. I immediately perceived his design, which perplexed me much, though only for a very little time. For I called to my remembrance what Francis Duke of Guise did, when Lewis Prince of Condé carried his complaints to this same *Parlement* against those that had almost brought him to the scaffold in the reign of Francis II. For the prince having told the company that he was ready to divest himself of his quality of prince of the blood, in order to fight those that had been the cause of his imprisonment, the Duke of Guise, who was the man pointed at, intreated the *Parlement* to procure him the honour of being the prince's second in that duel.

As I was not to speak till immediately after the grand chamber, I had time enough to consider upon this example, which fitted so much the better my purpose, that I was properly the man who was to open the motions, because the old counsellors who were to speak before me seldom do it to any purpose, when they are to speak upon a subject on which they are not prepared. I was not mistaken in my views. He that spoke first exhorted the prince to pay his duty to the king. Broussel harangued against Mazarin. Charon just touched upon the matter, but so slightly, that I had room enough to pretend that it had not been at all handled.

I therefore told the company, that I begged of the gentlemen that had spoken before me, to pardon me if I wondered that they had not enough considered, at least in my thoughts, upon the importance of this deliberation; that in the safety of the Prince of Condé, considering the present conjuncture, that of the state was included; that the doubts which arose upon that subject, occasioned pretences which were vexatious in every circumstance. My conclusion therefore was, that the attorney-general should be ordered to inform against those who had advised the arresting of the prince. The prince was the first that smiled, to hear me speak in this manner, in which he was followed by almost the whole company. I went on however very seriously in delivering my advice, adding, that as to the rest I agreed to what M. Charon had said, which was, that the queen's words should be registered; that the prince should be desired by the

company to wait on the king; that M. de Mercœur should be sent for, to give the company an account on the Monday following of his pretended marriage; that the decrees given against the cardinal's domestick servants should be executed; that Ondedei should be arrested, and that Bartet, Brachet, the Abbot Fouquet, and Silhon, should be subpœnaed before Messieurs Broussel and Meusnier, to answer to all the facts which the attorney-general might propose against them. This motion past unanimously. The prince, who appeared very well pleased with it, said that there was need of no less to make him think himself safe. The duke carried him that very afternoon to wait on the king and queen, from whom he had but a very cold reception. The first president said that evening to M. de Turenne, from whom I have heard it since, that if the prince had known how to play the ball which he had served him in the morning, he had got fifteen of me towards the game. It is certain that there were two or three instants in that sitting, in which the prince gave by his complaint, impressions and motions to the company which terrified me. I changed the one, and shifted the other, by the means which I have mentioned, which will serve to confirm what I have told you more than once, that all may depend on a single instant in these companies.

The queen had beyond comparison a greater feeling of the stroke given to M. de Mercœur's marriage, than of the counter-blow given to her authority, though much more material and of greater importance. She commanded me to come to her, and she charged me to intreat the duke in her name to prevent the pushing on that affair. She spoke to him about it herself with tears in her eyes, and she visibly shewed me that what she thought more personally relating to the cardinal was, and would always be, what would touch her in the most sensible part. M. le Tellier cured her of her fear about M. de Mercœur's marriage. He wrote her word that it was a happiness that this trifle amused the faction, and that she ought to rejoice at it, and so much the more because he would willingly be answerable that all this blustering would prove but a sudden blaze that would not last above four days, and would turn the authors of it into ridicule, because nothing material could at the bottom be done against that marriage. The queen at last, though with some difficulty, was sensible of it, which made her give her consent to M. de Mercœur's appearing before the *Parlement*.

What passed on that subject on Monday, August 7, and on the day following, is of so little consequence that it does not

deserve your attention. I will only tell you that M. de Mercœur answered at first as demurely as could have been expected from him; but that by teazing him over-much he was so provoked that he cruelly imbarrassed both the duke and the prince, by affirming to the first that he had sollicited him for three months together to hearken to that match; and to the second, that he had positively and expressly consented to it. The greatest part of these two sittings was consumed in negotiations and explanations; and at the end of the last the declaration against the cardinal was read, but was sent back to the chancellor, because he had not inserted in it that the cardinal had hindered the peace at Munster, and that against the Duke of Orleans's advice he had obliged the king to go to Bordeaux, and to besiege it. It was likewise desired that it should include, that one of the motives for which the cardinal had caused the prince to be arrested, was his refusing to consent to the marriage between M. de Mercœur and Mademoiselle de Mancini.

The queen, exasperated at the continuance of the behaviour of the prince, who appeared in Paris with a greater and more magnificent retinue than either the king or the duke, and likewise at the behaviour of this last, whose mind was continually changing; the queen, I say, vexed to the last degree at this, resolved to play quit or double. M. de Châteauneuf flattered her inclination in that, and she was confirmed in it by a dispatch from Brühl that was a thundering one. She told the duke plainly that she could remain no longer in the state in which she was, and that she desired him to declare himself positively either for or against her. She spoke to me in his presence, challenging the promise I had made to her, of appearing openly against the prince if he continued to act as he had begun. The duke finding me resolved to keep to my engagement, which he had himself approved of, would have the credit of it with the queen, thinking thereby to come off clear with her, for not exposing his own person, which he was not naturally inclined to do. He alleged a dozen reasons to her to make her approve of his ceasing to appear at the *Parlement*, insinuating that my presence, which was always attended with the best part of those that belonged to him, was enough to give the *Parlement* and the publick to understand what his inclination and intentions were. The queen was not much troubled at his declining to go to the *Parlement*, though she seemed outwardly displeased at it. This conjuncture convinced her entirely that I acted sincerely for her service, finding clearly that I did not at all hesitate to keep

to what I had promised her. It was at that instant that she was pleased to speak to me in the manner which I believe I have already mentioned. She condescended, and that heartily and without any dissimulation, to make me some excuses for her mistrusting my conduct, and for the wrong she had done me (that was her word). She ordered me to confer with M. de Châteauneuf about the proposal she had made to him, not to remain always on the defensive as she had hitherto done, but to attack the prince in the *Parlement*. I will give you an account of what followed that proposal, after I have told you the reason which moved the queen to repose a greater trust in me than she had done hitherto.

The duke's wavering had scared her to that degree, that she knew not sometimes whom to blame for it; and the sub-ministers who (excepting Lionne whom she mortally hated) continued to keep a great correspondence with her, left nothing undone to persuade her that the duke at bottom took not the least step but at my instigation. She observed some of these steps, which she found so irregular and even so opposite to my maxims, that she could not find in her heart to impute them to me; and I know that writing one day to Servien upon that subject, she said to him: "I am not the coadjutor's dupe, but I should be yours if I believed what you write to me this day about him." Bartet has told me that he was present when she wrote these words, but he remembered not precisely what other matters occasioned her writing to him. Her patience being exhausted, and being resolved to attack the prince, both by Châteauneuf's advice and by the leave she had received from Brühl to do it, she was extremely glad to find that she might confide in me to serve her in it. She had applied herself more than ordinary to be assured on this point, of which I will give you this proof. She carried the Dutchess of Orleans with her to the Carmelites, upon some solemn day that related to their order; she took her aside after she had received the sacrament; she made her swear that she would tell her the truth upon a question she was to ask her, and that question was, whether I served her faithfully with the duke? The dutchess replied without any hesitation, that in everything that had nothing to do with the cardinal's return, I served her majesty not only with fidelity, but with ardour. The queen, who loved and esteemed the true piety of the dutchess, gave credit to her testimony, and a testimony given after such an act of devotion. It happened by good luck that I had an opportunity the very next day to explain myself to the queen in

his royal highness's presence, which I did without any hesitation, and in a manner that pleased her; and what touched her still more than the rest, was that the duke, who hitherto had shewn but little firmness in keeping what he had promised the queen on some occasions, did not fail her in this, at least so much as at other times. It was not in the prince's power to carry him to the *Parlement*, though he used his utmost efforts for it; and the queen imputed to my industry what I believed at that time, and what I have ever since believed, to have been the effect only of the fear he was in of exposing himself in a fray which he had room to believe not to be far off, by reason of the queen's being so much exasperated, and of the new engagement which I was just entered into with her. I return to the conference which I had with M. de Châteauneuf by the queen's command.

I went to him to Montrouge in company with the President de Bellièvre, who had written under him the memorial which he had proposed to the queen to send to the *Parlement*, and which seemed indeed rather written with gall than ink. M. de Châteauneuf mixed in this conjuncture with his cholerick and violent temper, a great apprehension that the prince should reconcile himself to the court, and trouble him in his new post. I believe that this consideration helped to give his style a greater sharpness. I spoke to him of it very freely, and was seconded by the President de Bellièvre. He softened some terms, but left the substance. I brought it back to the queen, who found it too soft. She ordered me to carry it to the duke, who found it too harsh. The first president, to whom he communicated it by the means of M. de Brienne, found too much vinegar in it, but he seasoned it with a little salt: that was the expression he used when he returned it to M. de Brienne, after he had kept it half a day. This is an abstract of what it contained: A reproach of all the favours bestowed on the house of Condé by the court; a complaint of the manners of the Prince of Condé, and of his conduct since his liberty; an exemplification of that conduct; his caballing in the provinces; the reinforcement of the garrisons he had in his places; Madam de Longueville's retreat into Mouron; the Spaniards he kept in Stenay; his correspondence with the archduke; the separating his troops from those of the king. The beginning of this writing was adorned with a solemn protestation of never recalling Cardinal Mazarin, and the end with an exhortation to the sovereign courts of judicature, and to the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, to keep to their loyalty.

Upon Thursday, August 17, about ten in the morning, that

writing was read in the presence of the king and of the queen mother, and of all the great men that were at court, to the *Parlement*. In the afternoon the same ceremony was performed at the same place, in respect of the chamber of accounts, to the court of aids, and to the Prévôt des Marchands.

Upon Friday the 18th the prince, with a great attendance, went to the *Parlement*, where the chambers were assembled for the reception of a counsellor. He told the company that he beseeched them to do him justice with relation to the impostures made use of to disgrace him with the queen; that if he was guilty, he submitted to be punished; but that if he was innocent, he asked for the punishment of his calumniators; that being impatient to clear himself, he pressed that the company would without delay send deputies to the Duke of Orleans to invite him to come and take his seat in the *Parlement*. The prince believed that the duke would not be able to hold out against the summons of that company. But he was mistaken; for Mainardeau and Doujat, that were immediately sent to him, brought no other answer back but only that he had been let blood, and that he did not so much as know when his health would permit him to assist at their deliberation. The prince went to him at his going from the *Parlement*. He spoke to him with a sort of respectful boldness, which however put the duke into a fright, because he feared, above all things, to be comprehended under the character of a secret abettor of Mazarin's, in the number of those whom the prince was exclaiming against. He gave therefore room to the prince to hope that he would go the next day to the *Parlement*. I suspected it a little while after, by a word that the duke let fall. I obliged him to alter his mind, by shewing him that after that step he must resolve to break with the queen; but chiefly by insinuating to him in an unaffected manner, the danger there was in exposing his person in a conjuncture when some sudden scuffle was unavoidable. This thought struck his fancy to that degree, that neither the prince nor Chavigny, who tried by turns to persuade him to go the next day to the *Parlement*, could bring him to it. It is true that about eleven at night Goulas, by over-teazing him, made him sign a writing wherein he declared that he had not approved of the writing against the prince, which the queen had caused to be read to the sovereign courts of judicature, chiefly the article by which he was taxed with holding intercourse with Spain. In this same paper the duke cleared the prince in some manner about the Spaniards continuing still in Stenay, and the prince's

troops having not joined the king's army. The duke signed it, being willing to persuade himself that the doing it signified nothing, and he told the queen the next day, that it was in some sort necessary to satisfy the prince in a trifle, her service requiring, in the present conjuncture, that he should not altogether break with him, that he might be in a condition to undertake an accommodation whenever her majesty thought that she should need it. The queen, who was very well pleased with what had passed that morning [it was in the afternoon that he spoke to her], was willing to take for good what the duke alleged. It is certain, by what appeared to me in the evening, that the queen did not resent what the duke had done, and yet in my opinion she never had more reason to do it than on this occasion. But this was not the first time that I had observed how little apt one is to be angry after successful events. That which the assembly of the chambers held on Saturday, August 19, produced, was this.

The first president having reported to the company what had passed at the Palais-Royal on the 17th, and having caused the memorial which the queen had given the deputies to be read, the prince told the company that he had a paper signed by the Duke of Orleans that contained his justification. He spoke some other words tending to the same effect, and he said at last that he should be very much obliged to the company if they would desire the queen to name his accusers. He then laid upon the table not only the paper signed by the duke, but another paper, ampler by much, and signed by himself. The contents of this last paper were a very fine answer to the queen's memorial. The prince, in a modest and prudent manner, took notice of the late Prince of Condé's services and of his own; he shewed that his settlements were not comparable to those of the cardinal; he spoke of his steps against the sub-ministers as a very natural and necessary consequence of the removal of the cardinal. As to the objection made to him about the retreat of the princess his wife, and the Dutchess of Longueville his sister, into Berry, he answered that this last was in the convent of the Carmelites at Bourges, and that the first staid in the house which had been appointed for her during his imprisonment; he maintained that it was the queen's fault that the Spaniards had not evacuated Stenay, and that the troops that went by his name had not joined the king's army; for proof of which he alleged the Duke of Orleans's testimony; he demanded justice against his calumniators; and as to the queen's reproaching him that he had in

some measure forced her to the change that had appeared in the council immediately after his being set at liberty, he answered that he had had no other hand in that alteration, but his opposing the proposal which the coadjutor and M. de Montrésor had made, to cause the people to take up arms, and to take away by force the seals from the first president.

As soon as they had made an end of reading these two papers, the prince said that he made no doubt but that I was the author of the memorial written against him; and that it was a piece worthy of a man that had given so violent a counsel as that of causing the city to rise up in arms, in order to take away by force the seals from the man to whom the queen had intrusted them. I answered the prince, that I should think myself wanting to the respect I owed his royal highness if I spoke a single word to justify an action that had passed in his presence. The prince replied, that Messieurs de Beaufort and de la Rochefoucauld, who were present, might attest the truth which he had advanced. I told him that I humbly beseeched him to give me leave, for the reasons which I had alleged, to admit nobody either for a witness or a judge of my conduct, but the duke only; but that in the meanwhile, I could assure the company that I had neither done nor said anything on that occasion but what became an honest man; and above all, that nobody could take away from me the honour nor the satisfaction of having ever been accused to have broke my word. These last words were far from being discreet. It is, in my opinion, one of the most imprudent things that I was ever guilty of. The prince, though incited by the Prince of Conti that pushed him, as everybody observed, with an intent, as it is likely, to have moved his resentment, fell into no passion, which could proceed from no other cause but a greatness of soul and courage in him. Though I was accompanied that day by a great number of men, he was beyond comparison stronger than I, and it is certain that if at that instant they had come to the drawing of swords, he had had infallibly all the advantage on his side. He had discretion enough not to do it, and I had not enough to think myself obliged to him for it. Having myself set a good face on the matter, and all my friends having shewed a great boldness, I thanked nobody for the success I had but those that had assisted me, and I thought on nothing else than on the coming the next day to the *Parlement* in a better condition.

The queen was transported with joy that the prince had met there with those that durst resist him. She was touched to the

quick with the wrong she had done me, in suspecting that I acted in concert with him. She expressed to me all that her passion could inspire her with against the prince's party, and all that her kindness could suggest to her for one that did at least what lay in his power to break the prince's measures. She ordered the Marshal d'Albret to have thirty gens-d'armes posted where I should desire. She gave the like order to the Marshal de Schomberg for as many light horse. Pradelle sent me the Chevalier Raray, captain of the guards, who was my particular friend, with forty chosen men amongst the serjeants and the soldiers of the regiment. Annery, with the gentry of the Vexin, was not forgotten. Messieurs de Noirmoutier, de Fosseuse, de Châteaubriant, de Montauban, de St. Auban, de Laigue, de Montaigu, d'Argenteuil, de Lamet, and de Quérieux, divided amongst them the men and the posts. Guérin, Brigallier, and l'Espinai, officers of the trained bands, gave places of rendezvous to a very great number of the best citizens, who had all pistols and poniards under their cloaks. Having an acquaintance with the buvetiers,[1] I got at night a great number of men that belonged to me into the buvettes, by means of whom the *Parlement* hall was in effect invested on all parts, though it was perceived by nobody.

As I had resolved to post the main body of my friends upon the left in the hall, I had put thirty of the gentlemen of the Vexin into a chamber, who in case of need were to charge the prince's party in flank and in rear. The cupboards in the buvette of the fourth chamber of inquests that looks into the great hall were full of grenades. In short, it is certain that all my measures were so well taken both within the *Parlement* and without (for the whole Pont Nôtre-Dame, and that of St. Michael, that were passionately attached to me, expected only a signal to be given them) that in all appearance I was not like to be beaten. The duke, who quaked for fear, though very safe within his palace, was willing, according to his laudable custom, to keep fair, at all events, with both parties. He approved that Raray, Beloy, and Valon, who belonged to him, should follow the prince; and that the Viscount d'Autel, the Marquis de la Sablonnière, and the Marquis de Genlis, who likewise belonged to him, should come along with me. We had on both sides all Sunday to prepare ourselves.

On Monday, August 21, all the prince's friends met at his

[1] Those that keep the *buvettes*. See the note relating to the word *buvettes*, in the first volume, p. 230.

house at seven in the morning, and all mine at my house between five and six. There happened as I was going to take coach a trifle, that does not otherwise deserve to be told you, but only because it is sometimes good to enliven a serious matter with something that will make one laugh. The Marquis de Rouillac, famous for his extravagancies, which were accompanied with a great deal of valour, came to offer himself to me. The Marquis de Canillac, a man of the same character, came to me almost at the same instant. As soon as he had perceived Rouillac, he made me a low bow backwards, saying: "I was come, sir, to offer you my services, but it is not just that the two greatest madmen in the kingdom should be of the same party: I am therefore going to the Hôtel de Condé." You must observe, that in effect he went thither. I arrived at the *Parlement* a quarter of an hour before the prince, who came thither accompanied by a great number of gentlemen. I believe that I had more men than he, but he had without comparison more persons of quality than I, as it was both natural and just. I would not suffer that those who were attached to the court, and that would gladly have come with me upon the queen's account, should accompany me, for fear of their giving me some tincture, or rather some appearance of Mazarinianism; so that except three or four who, though attached to the queen, were known to be my particular friends, I had with me only the gentlemen that were Frondeurs, who came not near in number to those that followed the prince. This disadvantage was in my opinion more than enough compensated, both by my power over the people, which was certainly much greater, and by the posts of which I was master. Châteaubriant, whom we had left in the streets to observe the prince's march, coming to me, and telling me before a great number of persons that the prince would be at the *Parlement* in a few minutes; that he had at least as many men as we, but that we had taken our posts, which was of great advantage to us; I replied to him: "There is certainly no place, except the *Parlement* hall, where we could have taken our posts better than the prince." In saying this I felt within me that what I spoke proceeded from the shame I had, to suffer a comparison to be made betwixt the prince and me, which sentiment I was confirmed in by the reflections I made, and I had acted more wisely if I had preserved it longer, as you will presently see.

The prince having taken his seat, told the company that he could not enough wonder to find the *Parlement* house in the condition it was in; that it appeared rather a camp than a

temple of justice; that there were posts taken, persons commanded, words given for rallying, and that it was unaccountable that there could be found in the kingdom people insolent enough to pretend to vie with him in this manner. He repeated these last words twice. I made him a low bow, and said, that I begged his highness to pardon me if I told him that I believed that there was nobody in the kingdom insolent enough to dispute the upper hand with him; but that I was persuaded that there were persons who could and ought by their dignity to yield it, in the manner he meant, only to the king. He answered me, that whether I would or no, he would make me quit the stage.

I replied that it would be no easy matter. At this a great noise arose. The young counsellors of each side interested themselves in this contest, which, as you see, began sharply enough. The presidents flung themselves betwixt the prince and me. They intreated his highness to have a regard for the temple of justice, and for the preservation of the city; they begged of him to consent that what gentry and armed men there were in the hall should go out. He approved of it, and he prayed M. de la Rochefoucauld to go and tell it from him to his friends. This was the term he made use of, which in his mouth was becoming and modest. Nothing but the event could prevent its being ridiculous in mine; but it is not the less so in my thoughts, and I am still sorry that it disfigured the first answer I had made the prince about quitting him the stage, which was just and reasonable. But after he had desired M. de la Rochefoucauld to bid his friends go out, I rose up and said imprudently: "I'll go to desire mine likewise to retire." Young d'Avaux, whom you see now President de Mesme, and who was at that time in the interest of the prince, said to me: "You are armed then?" "Who doubts it?" replied I; and this was a second blunder. An inferior ought never to set himself in words, upon a foot of equality with his superior, though he does it in action; neither ought an ecclesiastick to own that he is armed, even when he is. There are matters upon which it is certain that the world desires to be deceived. Actions justify men pretty often, as to their reputation with the publick, for what they do against their profession; I never saw any that justifies them for what they say against it.

As I was going out of the grand chamber, I met at the usher's bar M. de la Rochefoucauld, who was coming back. I did not reflect upon it, and I went into the hall to desire my friends to retire. After that I came back, and as I was just entering the

door of the grand chamber, I heard a very great noise of people calling to arms in the hall. I would have turned my head to see what the matter was, but I had not time to do it, for I was caught by the neck between the two folding doors, which M. de la Rochefoucauld had shut upon me, calling to Messieurs de Coligny and de Ricousse to kill me. The first contented himself with not obeying him; the second told him that he had no order from the prince to do it. Montrésor, who was within the usher's bar, with a young man of Paris called Noblet, who was well affected to me, held a little one of the foldings, which however pressed me very much. M. de Champlâtreux, whom the noise which he had heard in the hall had drawn thither, seeing me in this extremity, pushed M. de la Rochefoucauld vigorously. He told him that an assassination of that nature was both shameful and horrible. He opened the door and got me in. That danger was not the greatest I ran on this occasion, as you will see after I have told you the cause that gave it both a beginning and an end.

Two or three bawling men of the prince's party, and of the dregs of the people, who arrived in the hall just at the moment I was leaving it, seeing me at a distance, took a fancy to cry at me, "A Mazarinian!" Many of the common people, and Chavagnac among others, bowing to me as I passed, and expressing their joy to see that matters were growing milder, two of the prince's guards that were likewise at a great distance, took it into their heads to draw their swords. Those who were nearest to them called to arms. Everybody answered to that call, my friends as well as the rest, and by a wonder perhaps without example, all these drawn swords, these pistols, these poniards, remained useless in people's hands for a moment, which gave time to Crenan, who commanded the Prince of Conti's company of gens-d'armes, but who was likewise an old friend of mine, and who by good luck had there to make head against him the Marquis de Laigue, with whom he had lodged for ten years together, to say to Laigue, "What are we about? We are going to cause the prince and the coadjutor to be murdered: he is a villain that does not put up his sword!" These words spoken by one of the men in the world whose reputation for bravery was the best established, caused every one without exception to follow his example. This is perhaps one of the most extraordinary events that has happened in our age. Argenteuil's courage and presence of mind is not much less extraordinary. By good luck he was very near me, when I had my neck caught

between the two folding doors; and he was considerate enough to observe that Pêche, a seditious man that had made himself famous in the prince's party, was seeking for me with a poniard in his hand, saying, Where is the coadjutor? Argenteuil, who by good luck, as I have said, was very near me at that instant, having left his post to speak to somebody he knew of the prince's party, judged that instead of going back to his post and drawing his sword, which any man of moderate courage would have done on that occasion, he would do better to observe and bemuse Pêche, who by turning to the left might easily have stuck his poniard into my back. He executed his design so dextrously that by arguing with him and covering me with his long cloak, he saved my life, which was exposed to the more danger, in that my friends who believed that I was got back into the grand chamber, thought of nothing else but of pushing those that stood before them. You will perhaps wonder that having used so wise precautions in all other places, I had not filled both the usher's bar and the lanternes with my friends. But you will cease to wonder when I have told you, that it was not for want of due consideration, nor for want of foreseeing the inconveniencies that attended the not doing so. But I could find no remedy to these inconveniencies because the thing was impracticable, or at least would have been attended with still greater inconveniencies. Most of the gentlemen of quality that I had with me had each of them his employment, and could be spared nowhere else, having so many different posts which it was necessary to keep. Nothing had been more odious than the putting anybody of low rank in these places, where according to order, nobody is admitted but persons of condition. If lower sorts of people had been observed to fill up these places, to the prejudice of an infinite number of persons of quality whom the prince had with him, those of the *Parlement* that kept neutral, would infallibly have found fault with a sight of that nature which might have inclined them to the other side. It was of importance to me that I should appear altogether on the defensive, and I gave to that advantage, the preference over that of a greater safety. I had like to have paid dear for it, for besides the adventure at the door which I have mentioned, the prince, with whom I have often spoke since of the passages of that day, told me that he intended to have taken advantage of the tumult in the hall, and that if it had lasted but one moment longer, he would have seized me by the throat, and made me answerable for all that might have happened. It was in his power so to do, having certainly many more men in the lanternes

than I had. But I am persuaded that the consequence would have been fatal to both parties, and that the prince himself would hardly have got off safe. I return to what I was relating.

As soon as I was got safe into the grand chamber, I told the first president that I owed my life to his son, that gentleman having in reality done on that occasion what the highest generosity can perform. He was in everything that was not opposite to the conduct and maxims of his father, attached even passionately to the prince. He was persuaded, though wrongfully, that I had had a hand in the seditions that had been raised twenty times against his father, during the siege of Paris. Nothing obliged him to concern himself in the danger I was in, more than most of the gentlemen of the *Parlement*, who remained very quiet on their seats; and yet he interested himself in my preservation so far as to be exposed to the resentment of his own party, which was the strongest, at least in that place. There are few actions that deserve a greater praise, and I shall as long as I live preserve a tender memory of it. I expressed my gratitude for it publickly to the first president, as I have already said; and I added that M. de la Rochefoucauld had done all that lay in his power to get me assassinated. He answered to me these very words: "Traitor, I care but little what becomes of thee." To which I replied: "Hold, friend la Franchise:" (we had given him that name among us) "you are a coward," (I lied, for he is certainly very brave) "and I am a priest, fighting is forbidden us." M. de Brissac, who was seated just above him, threatened to cudgel him; he threatened M. de Brissac to kick him. The presidents, who believed rightly enough that these speeches were but the beginning of a quarrel that would not end barely in words, put themselves betwixt us. The first president, who had sent a little before for the king's council, joined himself to them, to intreat the prince pathetically by the blood of St. Lewis, not to suffer that the temple which he had built for the preservation of peace and the protection of justice should be stained with blood; and to exhort me by the sacred character I bore not to contribute to the massacre of the people whom God had committed to my care. The prince consented that two of the presidents should go into the great hall and cause those of his party to go away by the stairs that belong to the Holy Chapel; two other presidents did the like in respect to my friends, who went away by the great stairs which are on the left as you go out of the hall. The clock struck ten; the com-

pany rose up; and in this manner ended that morning, in which Paris was like to have been destroyed.

Methinks I hear you ask what part M. de Beaufort was acting in this last scene, wondering that after the figure that you have seen him make in the first, he should in some sort be included among the crowd of mute actors. What I shall answer will be a confirmation to you of what I have already observed more than once in these memoirs, which is, that it is impossible to please anybody if you aim at pleasing everybody. M. de Beaufort fancied to himself, or rather Madam de Montbazon put it into his fancy after he had broke with me, that he ought to keep fair, as he might do, with the prince and with the queen; and he even affected so much the appearance of that medium that that made him affect to come all alone to these two last assemblies of the *Parlement* of which I have spoken. Nay, he said aloud at the last assembly of all, with the tone of a Cato that little became him: "As for me I am but a private man that meddles with nothing." At this I turned to M. de Brissac, saying: "It must be owned that M. d'Angoulême and M. de Beaufort are in the right as to their conduct." I spoke not these words so low but that the prince heard them and smiled at them. You must observe that M. d'Angoulême was above ninety years old and bed-rid. I mention this trifle, only because it shews that every man who by the help of fortune alone is become the favourite of the people, seldom fails to become in a little time ridiculous in his private capacity. There is no return for him after that; and all the bravery that M. de Beaufort shewed in more than one occasion after the return of the cardinal, against whom he declared without the least hesitation, could not raise him up after his fall. But it is time to resume the thread of my narration.

You may easily conceive the emotion in which Paris was during that morning which I have described. Most of the tradesmen kept their muskets by them whilst they were at work in their shops. The women were in the churches at their prayers; but what is likewise true, is that they were struck there with a greater fear in the afternoon of the danger which they expected, than they had been in the morning of that to which they were actually exposed. An universal melancholy appeared in the countenance of all those that were not entirely attached to the two parties. The minds of people, which were no longer diverted by the movements they were in before, gave now room even to those that had been the most active, to reflect upon what had past. The prince said to the Count de Fiesque,

at least as this last related it publickly that night: "Paris has this day been near to have been burnt to ashes; what a bonfire for Mazarin! and it is the two greatest enemies he has, that have been upon the point of lighting that fire." I was considering on my side that I was upon the brink of the worst and most dangerous precipice that ever threatened a private man. The best that could happen to me was to get the better of the prince, and that best, if he had been murdered, would have served only to make me pass for the murderer of the first prince of the blood, to be infallibly disowned by the queen, and to give all the fruit of my labour and dangers to the cardinal by the event, which never fails to turn in favour of the royal authority, all disorders that pass to the last excess. This is what my friends, at least the wisest of them, were representing to me. This is what I was representing to myself. But what means, what remedy, what expedient had I in hand, to get out of an affair in which I was in the right at first to have ingaged, and which by reason of that ingagement I was the more obliged to pursue? Providence was pleased to find out a remedy.

The duke, overcome by the cries of the Parisians, whose fears made them run to the Palace of Orleans, but more alarmed still by his own fear, which made him believe that so general a commotion as that which had like to have happened, would not stop at the *Parlement* if it was renewed, ingaged the prince to promise him to go thither the next day, accompanied only with five others, provided I would ingage to have but the like number with me. I begged the duke to forgive me if I should be wanting in the respect which I owed the prince, with whom I well knew that I ought not to enter into comparison; and because I found no manner of safety in it for me by reason of so many seditious persons who were bawling at me, and who kept within no bounds, having no chief to govern them: that it was only against this sort of men that I was armed; that I was not unmindful of the respect which I owed the prince: that there was so little competition between such a one as I and his highness, that 500 men were less to him than a footman was to me. The duke, who found that I came not into his proposal, and to whom Madam de Chevreuse had sent word by Arnaut, who by the duke's order had been to persuade that lady about it, that I was in the right not to come over to it; the duke, I say, went to the queen to represent to her the great inconveniencies which the continuance of this conduct would infallibly produce.

The queen, who naturally feared nothing and foresaw but

little, made no manner of account of his royal highness's remonstrances, and so much the less because she would have been overjoyed at the bottom to see matters pushed on to extremes, which she thought not only possible, but near at hand. But when the chancellor, who spoke to her with vigour, and when the Bartets and the Brachets who were hid in the garrets of the Palais-Royal, and who were overwhelmed with grief, fearing to be murdered in the general commotion, had convinced her, that the death of the prince and mine, happening in a conjuncture like this, would throw things into such a confusion, that the name of Mazarin only might prove fatal to the whole royal family, she yielded at last, though rather to their tears than to their reasons, and she consented to send both the prince and me an order of the king's to forbid us to go to the *Parlement*. The first president, who was sure that the prince would refuse to obey that order, which indeed could not justly have been injoined him, his presence being required at the *Parlement*, went to the queen with the President de Nesmond.

He represented to her majesty that the forbidding the prince to assist at an assembly where he went with no other purpose than to clear himself of the crime laid to his charge, would be against all manner of justice. He shewed her the difference which she ought to make betwixt a prince of the blood whose presence in the *Parlement* was necessary in this conjuncture, and a coadjutor of Paris who was suffered to sit there only by the courtesy of the *Parlement*, which was indeed commonly granted. He added that her majesty ought to consider, that nothing could oblige him to speak to her in this manner but the force of his duty, because he would ingenuously own to her that the manner in which I had received the small service which his son had endeavoured to render me (that was his expression) had so sensibly touched him, that it was not without an extreme constraint upon himself that he was forced to address her upon a point, which perhaps would be displeasing to me. The queen yielded to his reasons, and to the instances of all the ladies at court, who, the one for one reason and the other for another, were afraid of the next day's uproar, which was almost inevitable. She sent me M. de Charost, captain of the guards in waiting, to forbid me in the king's name to go the next day to the *Parlement*. The first president, whom I had been to see and to thank in the morning as soon as the *Parlement* was up, came to visit me just at the time that M. de Charost was leaving my house. He gave me a very frank account of the

whole discourse he had had with the queen. I valued him for it, because he was in the right, but I told him besides that I was very glad of it, because it got me honourably out of a very ill step. "It is very wise in you," said he, "to think so; but it is still more gallant to tell it me." He embraced me tenderly in saying this: we became friends, and I shall express that friendship to his family so long as I live, in a tender and grateful manner.

The next day, Tuesday, August 22, the *Parlement* assembled. Two companies of the militia were ordered to guard it at all events by reason of some remains of commotion that appeared still in the town. The prince staid in the fourth chamber of inquests, because the forms required that he should not assist at a deliberation wherein he asked either to clear himself, or to be prosecuted. Many different motions were opened; that of the first president carried it, which was that all the writings, as well those of the queen, as those of the Duke of Orleans and of the prince, should be carried to the king and to the queen; and that most humble remonstrances should be made to their majesties upon the importance of all those writings; that the queen should be intreated to cause that affair to be stifled; and that the Duke of Orleans should be desired to negotiate an accommodation.

As the prince was coming from the *Parlement*, followed by a crowd of people of those that were in his party, I met him in his coach, face to face, pretty near the Franciscan friars, as I was leading the procession of the great fraternity. That procession having thirty or forty of the curates of Paris at their head, and being always attended with a great number of people, I thought that I should have no need of the guard that commonly accompanied me, and I had even affected to have near me but five or six gentlemen, who were Messieurs de Fosseuse, de Lamet, de Quérieux, de Châteaubriant, with the Chevaliers d'Humières and de Sévigné. Three or four of the mob that followed the prince, cried as they perceived me, "A Mazarinian!" The prince, who, as I think, had in his coach with him Messieurs de la Rochefoucauld, de Rohan, and de Goncourt, got out of it as soon as he had seen me. He commanded silence to those who had begun to bawl out; he knelt down to receive my blessing, which I gave him with my cap upon my head; but I pulled it off immediately after, and made him a very low bow. This adventure, as you see, was pleasant enough. I will tell you another which by the event proved otherwise; and it is in my opinion what has cost me my fortune, and has been like several times to have cost me my life.

The queen was so much transported with joy at the obstacles which the prince met in his designs, and she was so much pleased with my honest proceeding, that I may truly say that I was for some days in favour. She could not express enough her mind, to those that came near her, how well satisfied she was with me. The Princess Palatine was persuaded that she spoke from her heart. Madam de Lesdiguières told me that Madam de Beauvais, who was a pretty good friend of hers, had assured her that I had gained ground in her mind. What persuaded me of it beyond the rest, was that the queen, who could not have borne before any jest that reflected upon Mazarin, rallied with me very sincerely about a saying of mine relating to him. Bartet had told me some days before, I do not remember on what occasion, that the poor cardinal was sometimes put very hard to it; to which I answered him: "Give me the king on my side for two days together, and you shall see whether I shall be hard put to it." He had found something pleasant in my answer, and being himself a pleasant fellow, he could not help telling it the queen. She was not angry, but rather laughed heartily at it; and that circumstance, upon which Madam de Chevreuse, who knew the queen perfectly well, made many reflections, added to a word that was reported to her by Madam de Lesdiguières, brought a thought into her head which I shall impart to you, after I have told you what that word was.

Madam de Carignan was saying one day in the queen's presence that I was very ugly; and that, perhaps, was the only time in her whole life that she had not told a lie. The queen answered: "He has fine teeth, with which a man is never ugly." Madam de Chevreuse having this from Madam de Lesdiguières, to whom Madam de Niel had told it, remembered that she had heard the queen say on many occasions, that beauty in men consisted only in having fine teeth, because in that consisted the goodness of them. Let us try, said Madam de Chevreuse to me one evening that I was walking with her in the Hôtel de Chevreuse, if you are willing to act your part well I do not despair of success in this. Appear only very pensive when you are with the queen; be looking continually upon her hands; rail at the cardinal; and leave the rest to me. We concerted every particular, and we played each of us our part exactly as we had concerted it. I asked for three or four audiences of the queen, one after another, upon frivolous pretences. I spoke in these audiences but just enough to put the queen upon thinking what was my reason for demanding them. I followed in every

point Madam de Chevreuse's advice. I carried my disquiet and my railing at the cardinal even to extravagancy. The queen, who was naturally a great coquet, understood these airs. She spoke of it to Madam de Chevreuse, who appeared full of surprize and of wonder, but no more than what was just necessary to compass her design the better, which she did by feigning to call back to her memory many things which she would never have remembered if the queen's discourse, as she said, had not given occasion to it, and which related to what she had observed at her coming back from Brussels to Paris, of my transports of anger at the cardinal.

"Really, madam," said she to the queen, "your majesty brings to my mind some circumstances which agree well enough with what you tell me. The coadjutor spent whole days in speaking to me of all your majesty's past life with a curiosity that surprized me, because he entered into a thousand particulars that had no relation to the present times. These conversations were the agreeablest in the world so long as they related only to your majesty's person. But he ceased to be the same man, if by chance the cardinal's name was mentioned, speaking then even in bitter terms of your majesty. Indeed that lasted not long, for he immediately sweetened his discourse in respect to you, but never in respect to the cardinal. But now I think on it, I must recall to my memory the rage he was one day possessed with against Buckingham. . . . But I cannot remember it precisely. He could not bear to hear me say that that gentleman was a very gallant man. What has always hindered me from reflecting upon a thousand things of this nature, which offer themselves now fully to my view, is the attachment he has for my daughter. Not that this attachment is at the bottom so great as it is imagined. I wish that the poor creature was not more attached to him than he is to her. But when all is done, madam, I cannot imagine that the coadjutor can be mad enough to put such a whim into his head."

This is one of Madam de Chevreuse's conversations with the queen. She had twenty or thirty others with her of the same nature, wherein it happened at last that the queen thought that she had persuaded that lady, that I was really mad enough to have put that whim into my thoughts, and wherein Madam de Chevreuse in her turn, persuaded the queen that I had really embraced that fancy in a much stronger manner than she herself had thought: in the meanwhile I was not forgetting myself; I acted my part well; in my conversations with the

queen I sometimes passed from pensiveness to extravagance, and coming to myself only by fits, at the same time that I preserved a profound respect for her majesty, I always expressed a sourness, and sometimes a violent passion against the cardinal. I did not perceive that my affairs went the worse for it at court; but Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, whom her mother had thought fit to acquaint with my conduct, and to bring her to consent to it for the reason which you will hereafter see, was pleased to spoil our measures two months after, by the greatest and the most signal imprudence that ever was committed. I will give you the particulars of it, after I have satisfied myself in respect to an omission in these memoirs, for which I have been for a pretty long while reproaching myself.

The whole contents almost of what I have been writing are nothing but a connection of passages that relate to the queen's attachment for Cardinal Mazarin. It seems to me for that reason, that I should have long before explained to you the nature of that attachment. But I believe that you will be better able to enter into that matter, if I mention to you first of all some passages relating to the first years of the queen, which I look upon to be as clear and as certain as those which I have myself seen, having had them from Madam de Chevreuse, who was the only and true confidante of her younger years. She has often told me that the queen had nothing of the Spaniard in her, in respect either of her mind or of her body; that she had neither the temper nor the vivacity of that nation, but had got only its coquettry, which indeed she had to a sovereign degree; that the Duke de Bellegarde, an old man, but polite and gallant, after the manner of the court of Henry III., had pleased her, but that she grew disgusted at him, because taking one day his leave of her when he went to command the army at Rochelle, and having asked leave in general to hope that she would grant him some favour before he left the court, he had confined himself to the requesting her that she would lay her hand upon the hilt of his sword; that she had found something so foolish in that manner of courtship, that she could never forgive him since; that she had approved of the gallantry of M. de Montmorency much more than she had loved his person; that her aversion for the manners of Cardinal Richlieu, who was as great a pedant in love affairs as he was a gentleman in other matters, was the cause that she could never suffer his courtship. . . .

Madam de Chevreuse added, that she had perceived from the beginning of the regency a great inclination in the queen for

Cardinal Mazarin, but that she could not find out how far that inclination had carried her; that she had indeed been forced to leave the court so soon after the regency, that she had not had time to see clearly into it, supposing that anything material had passed; that at her return into France after the siege of Paris, the queen had at first kept herself so reserved with her, that it had been impossible for her to penetrate into it: that since the queen had used her with more familiarity, she had at some instants observed certain airs in her, that resembled much those that she used formerly to give herself with Buckingham: that in others she had taken notice of some circumstances which made her judge that there was between them only an intimate union of minds: that one of these circumstances which she looked upon to be the most considerable, was the manner in which the cardinal lived with her, that had more of roughness than of gallantry; which, however, added she, may carry two faces, considering the humour that I know the queen to be of. Buckingham, continued she, was formerly telling me that he had loved three queens, and that he had been obliged to box the ears of all three; which is the reason that I cannot judge rightly of the matter. In this manner did Madam de Chevreuse speak to me. I return to my narration.

I was not well enough pleased with the figure I made against the prince, though I thought myself very much honoured by it, not to perceive in all its extent the danger with which the post I was in was invironed. "Whither are we going," said I one day to M. de Bellièvre, who seemed to me too much pleased that the prince had not crushed me; "and for whom are we labouring? I know that we are obliged to act as we do; I know that we cannot do better. But ought we to rejoice that we are necessitated to act in this manner, because it is the best, when it is impossible but that we must in a little time fall into the worst?" "I understand you," replied the president, "but at the same time I must stop you, to tell you what I have learnt from Cromwell" (M. de Bellièvre had seen him, and had been acquainted with him in England[1]). "He was one day telling me that men never mounted so high as when they did not know whither they went." "You know," replied I, "that I abominate Cromwell; but as great a man as he is represented to be, I will do more; I'll despise him, if he holds these notions, which can proceed from none but a madman." I have been relating this

[1] He was sent embassador to England during the civil war.

dialogue, which in itself signifies nothing, only to let you see of what consequence it is never to speak ill of persons in great posts. The President de Bellièvre returning after this into his closet, where many persons waited for him, reported what I had said, as a proof of the wrong done me by those who pretended that my ambition was without measure or bounds. This saying of mine came to the protector's ears, who remembered it with animosity on an occasion of which I shall speak hereafter, and who said to M. de Bordeaux, our embassador in England: "I know but of one man in the world that despises me, which is the Cardinal de Retz." That opinion of his had like to have cost me dear. I come again to my narration.

The duke, who was very glad to have got off so cheap out of the straits which I have mentioned, applied his thoughts wholly to avoiding the like for the future. To that purpose he went on the 26th to Limours, to shew the queen, as he said, that he did not enter into any one of the prince's measures.

Upon Monday the 28th, and on the next day, the prince used his utmost efforts at the *Parlement*, to oblige the company to press the queen, either to clear him, or to prove the charge set forth in the writing which she had sent against him. But the first president stood firm in not suffering any deliberation till the Duke of Orleans was returned; and being persuaded that his royal highness did not intend to come back so soon, he consented that he should be desired by the company to come to the *Parlement*. The prince went himself to the duke on the 29th, accompanied by M. de Beaufort, to press his coming. He lost his labour, and Jouy came to me at midnight from the duke, to tell me what had passed in their conversation, and to order me to give the queen an account of it the next day.

On that day, which was the 30th, the prince came to the *Parlement*, where he had the pleasure to see M. de Vendôme act one of the most ridiculous parts that can be imagined. He required that they would enter into their registers the protestation he made, that since the year 1648 he had not heard one word of his son's courting Mademoiselle de Mancini, and you may well think that nobody believed him. The prince, after this, having asked the first president if the queen had given any answer to the remonstrances made to her upon his account, the king's council were sent for, who said that she had put off answering till the Duke of Orleans's return, that prince continuing at Limours. The Prince of Condé complained of this delay as of a denial of justice. Upon this a great clamour arose, and

the first president was obliged, after a long resistance, to report what had passed at the Palais-Royal on the Saturday before, which was the day that he had made the remonstrances. He had pushed it on with a great deal of vigour, and had omitted nothing to let the queen see and feel the advantage and even the necessity of reuniting the royal family. He ended his report by telling the company that the queen had put him off, as she had done the king's council, till the Duke of Orleans's return.

The President de Mesme, who was gone to Limours by order of the company to invite the duke to come and take his seat at the *Parlement*, had brought but a very dubious answer. But the greatest proof of the duke's not coming was, that M. de Beaufort, who had been at Limours the day before with the prince, said that the duke had commanded him to desire the company in his name, not to stay for him as they had resolved, to finish their declaration against Cardinal Mazarin.

On the 31st the prince came again to the *Parlement*, continuing to complain very much that the queen had not given any answer yet to the remonstrance. The truth is, that she had only caused the chancellor to tell the king's council that she expected M. de Brienne back from Limours, where she had sent him at five that morning. You fancy, I suppose, that the sending M. de Brienne thither, was to thank the duke for the firmness he had shewn in not coming to the *Parlement*, and to confirm him in it. You will have the greater reason to think so, when I have told you that the queen had the day before commanded me to write to the duke in her name, that she was touched with a sense of gratitude (she used that word) which she should preserve all her life long, for his having resisted the last instances of the prince. The night altered these dispositions, or rather the moment of the night in which Métayer, *valet de chambre* to the cardinal, arrived with a dispatch, which among other things, had in it the following words, as I have since been told by the Marshal du Plessis, who assured me that he had seen them in the original letter: "Give the prince, madam, all the declarations of innocence that he demands: all is good if you can but deceive him, and prevent his soaring too high." What is surprizing is that the queen had herself told me three days before, that she could heartily have wished that the prince was gone to Guienne; provided, added she, that people would not think that it is I who have pushed him to it. This point of history is one of those which has obliged me to say on another occasion, that there are points inexplicable in histories, and impenetrable even to those that

are the nearest to them. I remember that at that time, the Princess Palatine and I did what we could to find out the cause of so sudden an alteration; that we guessed that it was the effect of some secret negotiation; and that afterwards we thought ourselves fully convinced that we had guessed wrong. What confirmed us in that opinion, was that upon September 1, the queen having sent for the *Parlement*, caused the chancellor to tell them in her presence, that the advices which had been given her of the intelligence that the prince held with the Spaniards, having not been followed with any effects, her majesty was willing to believe that they were not true; and that upon the 4th the prince declared in a full assembly of the chambers, that what the chancellor had said in the queen's name, was not a sufficient justification for him, because it intimated that he might have appeared criminal if the first charge against him had been immediately pursued. He insisted upon having a decree in due form, and he enlarged upon it with so much heat, that it clearly appeared by it that this last step of the queen's was not concerted with him. However, this step being likewise taken without any concert with the duke, it worked the same effect upon his mind as if there had been a real accommodation between the prince and the court. He returned again to his suspicions, which he shewed by telling Doujat and Mainardeau, who had been sent to him on the 2nd of this month by the *Parlement* to intreat him to come and take his seat there, that he would not fail to do it, in which he was as good as his word. He was the whole evening long of September 3, maintaining to me that so sudden an alteration in the queen could have no other cause than a secret negotiation, and though the queen swore to him the contrary, he believed that she deceived him. Consequently upon the 4th he countenanced with so much heat the proposal which the prince made, that there were but three voices in the company that were against making most humble remonstrances to the queen, that she would issue out a declaration of the prince's innocence in due form, that might be registered before the king's being of age. You must observe that his majesty was to be declared of age upon the 7th. The first president having said in his advice that it was just to grant the prince that declaration, but that it was likewise requisite that he should first pay his duty to the king, he was interrupted by a great many confused voices that asked for the declaration against Cardinal Mazarin.

These two declarations were brought to the *Parlement* upon

the 5th, with a third for the continuance of the *Parlement*, upon account only of publick affairs.

Upon the 6th, that which concerned the cardinal, and the other for the continuance of the *Parlement*, were publickly read in court. That which related to the prince's innocence, was put off till the next day, when the king was to be declared of age, under pretence of rendering it more solemn and authentick by the king's presence; but in reality to gain time, and to see what the lustre of the royal majesty, which the court had projected to display in all its pomp, might produce upon the minds of the people. What makes me believe it, is that Servien said two days after to a credible man, of whom I learnt it, but not till ten years after, that if the court had made a right use of that instant, they would have crushed the princes and the Frondeurs too. That notion was ridiculous, and those that were well acquainted with Paris, would not certainly have been of his opinion.

The prince, who did not trust the court more than he did the Frondeurs, had indeed some ground for his diffidence. He declined being present at the ceremony, sending thither only the Prince of Conti, with a letter to the king, whereby he intreated his majesty to excuse his not appearing; that the calumnies of his enemies and their designs against him, suffered him not to go to the *Parlement;* to which he added, that the respect he had for his majesty was however the only motive that prevented his going. These last words, which seemed to signify that if it had not been for that motive he might have gone safely thither, exasperated the queen beyond whatever I had hitherto seen, and she said to me that evening these very words: "Either the prince or I shall perish." I was not bribed to soften her on this occasion. As I was however representing to her, purely out of a principle of honour, that the words of the prince might have another meaning more innocent, as indeed it was true, she said to me in an angry tone: "This is a false generosity, which I hate." What is certain, is that the prince's letter to the king was extremely prudent and well measured.

The prince, after having taken a journey to Trie, was come back to Chantilly. He learnt there that the queen had declared the new ministers upon the 7th, which was the day of the king's being of age; and what determined him altogether to remove still further from court, was the advice he received at that same moment from Chavigny, that the duke could not help saying with a smile, on occasion of this new establishment: "This will last longer than that of Maundy Thursday." The prince however

writing to the duke to complain of it, and to acquaint him with the reasons he had for leaving the court, thought fit very wisely to suppose that the duke was concerned in the offence equally with him. The duke, who at the bottom was extremely glad to see the prince resolved upon removing still further, was very near as glad to have some ground to persuade himself (at least as he was willing to think) that the prince was satisfied with him, and was consequently the dupe of his acting in concert with the queen about establishing a new ministry. He thought that for that reason he might at all events easily hold an intercourse with him, and the foible he had of keeping well always with both sides, carried him even quicker and further than he was used; for he was so very hasty to express his friendship for the prince at the time of his going, that he almost ceased to preserve any measures with the queen, and that he did not so much as take care to explain to her the secret reason of what he outwardly did to prevent the prince's removing himself further from court. He dispatched a gentleman to desire the prince that he would stay for him at Angerville, but at the same time he ordered that gentleman not to arrive at Angerville till he was sure that the prince was gone from thence. By this he thought he did enough to persuade the prince that it was not his fault that he remained not at court, but he kept this poor shift of his hid from the queen, because he mistrusted her. The queen, who was informed of the sending of the gentleman, but who knew nothing of his secret orders, judged that it was not for want of endeavours in the duke if he had not persuaded the prince to stay. She took umbrage at it and spoke to me about it. I told her frankly what I knew of it, which was the truth of the thing, though the duke had made it as unintelligible to me as ever he could. The queen did not believe that I deceived her in the account I gave her, but she fancied that I was myself deceived, and that Chavigny had made himself master of the duke to my prejudice. That opinion was without ground; the duke hated Chavigny more than he did the devil; and the only motive of his whole conduct was his fear, which made him always look out for means of safety which were even ridiculous, in the regard he shewed for both parties. But before I go on further into the particulars of this narration, I think it is requisite that I should give you an account of some pretty curious circumstances that relate to M. de Chavigny, whom you have already seen, and will still continue to see for some time at least, upon the stage.

I have, I believe, already told you that the duke had been upon the point of asking the queen for his removal, very soon after the change that was made on Maundy Thursday, and that the duke altered his mind, only upon my representing to him that it was his interest to leave in the council a man who was as fit as he was, to stir and keep alive the divisions and the distrust betwixt those with whose conduct his royal highness was dissatisfied. The event proved that I was right in my views; Chavigny's attachment to the prince was of great help to render all the measures of the prince's party suspicious to the queen, because she could not but know the inveterate hatred which Chavigny bore to the cardinal. She knew for certain that Chavigny had been the principal instigator of the expulsion of the three sub-ministers. The resentment she preserved for it obliged her to command him three or four days after his being removed from his place in the council, to retire into Touraine where he had a seat. He excused his not going, under pretence of his mother's illness; he forbore going by the authority of the prince. After the prince's authority ceased to be great enough to protect him in Paris, the queen took pleasure to see him there without any employment, and she said to me, speaking with an incredible animosity against him: "I shall have the pleasure to see him walk the streets as a lackey." Accordingly she got the Marshal de Villeroy to tell him the very day that the new ministers were named, that he might stay at Paris. He excused himself from it under pretence of his domestick affairs. He retired into Touraine, but could not stay there. During the king's absence he came back to Paris, where you shall see him in the sequel of these memoirs act a melancholy and an uneasy part, which at last cost him both his honour and his life. M. de la Rochefoucauld has said very wisely, that there is nothing so necessary as to know how to bear tedious moments.

Before I return to my narration I must make another digression about what passed at that time between the prince and M. de Turenne. Immediately after the prince's leaving Paris and his going to St. Maur, Messieurs de Bouillon and de Turenne waited upon his highness there, offering him their service publickly, and in the same manner with those that seemed the most deeply engaged with him. The prince has himself told me since, that the day before he left St. Maur to go to Trie, after which he returned no more to court, M. de Turenne was still so positive in promising to serve him, that he had even accepted of a writing signed with his own hand, whereby the prince ordered la Mous-

saye, who commanded for him in Stenay, to put that place into M. de Turenne's hands; and that the first news he heard of him afterwards, was that he was going to command the king's army. I must desire you to observe that of all the men whom I have known, the prince was the least capable of a premeditated imposture. I never durst bring M. de Turenne to explain me this article to the bottom; but what I could indirectly draw out of him is, that as soon as the prince was set at liberty, he had all imaginable reasons to be ill pleased with his manner of proceeding in respect to him: that he preferred before him, in everything and all manner of ways, M. de Nemours, who came not nigh to him in merit, and who besides had not rendered him near so many services, for which reason he thought himself free from his first engagements to him. I must likewise desire you to observe that I never knew anybody less capable of a base thing than M. de Turenne. Let us therefore once more acknowledge that there are points in history unintelligible even to those that have been nearest to the facts. I now resume my narration.

The prince having staid but a day or two at Angerville, went towards Bourges, which was in effect the road to Bordeaux; and the queen who would have been glad, if she had followed her inclination, to have the prince far off from court, but who had received contrary directions from Brühl, durst not oppose too much the duke's advice, who being excited by Chavigny's counsels, and being besides persuaded that the court continued still some secret negotiations with the prince, feigned at all events a great eagerness to prevent the prince's leaving the court. What confirmed him fully in that conduct, was an overture which at that time was attributed to M. le Tellier, at least by the common report, which made the duke believe that he was playing a sure game, and that the eagerness he shewed to have his cousin recalled to court, would go no further than in keeping him quiet in his government, which would turn all manner of ways to the duke's account, as he pretended. That overture was, that the court should offer the prince to remain quiet in his government, till the general estates of the kingdom should be assembled. That proposal was one of those things of which I believe I have spoken before, that are not to be understood, because it is impossible to conceive what has given them being. It is certain that that overture came from the court, either by the means of M. le Tellier or of some other; and it is no less certain that there was nothing in the world more contrary to the

true interest of the court, because that imaginary quiet of the prince gave him room to keep, strengthen, and increase his troops, which by the same overture were to pass their winter quarters there. The duke received it with a joy that surprized me to the last degree, having heard him say above a thousand times, that knowing as he did the cardinal to be of a humour that inclined him to all manner of negotiations, he thought that there was nothing more against his interest than parleys between the prince and the court. But upon this ground could anything have been contrived more prejudicial to the duke, than this overture? What is wonderful is that what was certainly pernicious both to the court and to the duke, was rejected by the prince, who was carried on by his fate to prefer to his inclination and his views, the caprice of his friends and dependants. I know nothing of this particular, but what Croissy, who was sent by the duke to Bourges, has since related to me at Rome; but I am persuaded that he has told me the truth, having no interest to disguise it from me. This is the detail he gave me of it.

The prince, who was by inclination very averse to a civil war, appeared at first to Croissy mighty well disposed to receive the proposals which he brought him from the duke, to which he was the more willing to hearken, because they left him, at least for a long while, at liberty to chuse what means he pleased among those which he might follow. It is very difficult to resolve upon rejecting proposals of this nature, chiefly when they are made just at a time when you are pressed to resolve on a thing that goes against your inclination. I have already told you that the prince was not inclined to a civil war, neither had those whom he had near him any great inclination to it if they could have agreed together upon the articles of his accommodation. But they were all for having it done their own way that they might find their private advantages in it, which it was not in their power to do, because there was none that had credit enough with him to exclude the rest from a negotiation. They all resolved therefore upon war, and that general disposition being added to the interest that Madam de Longueville found in not being near her husband, formed an invincible obstacle to an accommodation. They know but little what a party is that imagines that the head of it is master. His real service is almost always opposed by the pretended interest of the subalterns, which is pretty often but chimerical; and what is still worse, is that his regard for others, and almost always his prudence, forces him to join with them against himself. Croissy has several times told me that

the revolt and the passion of the prince's friends carried them so far on this occasion as to make a treaty among themselves at Mouron, whither the prince was gone to see Madam de Longueville, whereby they engaged to abandon him and to form another party of which the Prince of Conti was to be the head, in case that the prince should come to an accommodation with the court, upon the terms that the Duke of Orleans had sent Croissy to propose to him. I could however have hardly believed what Croissy said, though he swore to the truth of it, considering the weakness and the ridicule of that fanatical faction, if what I had seen immediately after the setting the princes at liberty, had not furnished me with an example very like this. For in speaking of that time I have forgot to tell you that Madam de Longueville, five or six days after her being come back from Stenay, asked me in the presence of M. de la Rochefoucauld, if in case of a rupture between the two brothers I would not declare for the Prince of Conti? A subdivision is the ruin of almost all parties, chiefly when it is introduced by that sort of cunning which is directly opposed to prudence, and it is what the Italians call *comedia in comedia.*

BOOK IV

A.D. 1651–1654

I MUST beg of you not to be surprized, if in the sequel of this narration you do not find the same exactness which I have hitherto observed in what relates to the assemblies of the *Parlement.* The court having removed from Paris to go into Berry and into Poitou, immediately after the king's being declared of age, which was upon September 7, 1651, and the Duke of Orleans keeping an even hand between the queen and the prince, there appeared not upon the stage of the *Parlement* near so many actors as before; so that from September 7 to the opening of the *Parlement* on the next St. Martin's Day, which was on November 20, it may be said that no considerable scenes appeared there, except those of the 7th and of the 14th of October. The duke in the assemblies held on these days told the company that the king had sent him a full power to treat with the prince, and that he had named to go along with him and to assist him in this negotiation, Messieurs d'Aligre and de la Marguerie, counsellors of state, and Messieurs de Mesme, Mainardeau, and Cumont, of

the *Parlement*. This negotiation came to nothing, because the prince refused to accept the offer which the duke had made him to go and confer [1] with him at Richelieu, as being a captious proposal of the court, made with a design to lessen the ardour of those that were willing to ingage with him. Upon the 26th of this month they had the news at Paris that the prince was arrived at Bordeaux on the 12th; and the same day that the news came, the king went to Fontainebleau, where he was informed in the evening, that if the court would advance to Bourges, the partisans of the prince would certainly leave that town. Messieurs de Châteauneuf and de Villeroy pressed the queen extremely not to give time to Persan to throw himself into it with the gentry of the province, and the court going thither accordingly, and the chief inhabitants having declared for the king, the rest surrendered without striking a blow. Palluau was left with a small body of troops to block up Mouron, which was defended by Persan. The Prince of Conti and Madam de Longueville retired to Bordeaux with all manner of haste. M. de Nemours went along with them, during which journey he attached himself to Madam de Longueville, more than Madam de Châtillon and M. de la Rochefoucauld were willing he should. The prince thought that he had ingaged M. de Longueville to be of his party, in the conference he had with him at Trie; but it proved without effect, M. de Longueville staying at Roüen. The movement which the troops commanded by the Count de Tavannes about Stenay made by order of the prince after he had quitted the court, had not a much greater effect, because the Count de Grand-pré, who had left the prince's service out of discontent, made likewise a movement near Ville-Franche, and another near Givet, which kept the prince's troops in awe.

In compensation for that, the desertion of Marsin in Catalonia was of great weight. He commanded in that province when the princes were arrested, and as he was known to be very particularly attached to the Prince of Condé, the court thought not convenient to confide in him. Orders were sent to the intendant to seize his person. He was set at liberty at the same time that the princes were, and he was even restored to his post.

[1] M. de la Rochefoucauld says in his *Memoirs*, that the end of that conference was not to make peace, but only to hinder the prince from making war; at a time when the bodies politick all over the kingdom were about to declare themselves. . . . The prince besides was unwilling to trust his interests in the Duke of Orleans's hands, because of his union with the coadjutor his enemy, and of the union of that prelate with the court.

When the prince left the court after his imprisonment, and took his way into Guienne, the queen thought upon winning Marsin, and sent him a patent of viceroy of Catalonia which he had passionately wished for, adding to it all manner of promises for the future. But having been timely informed of the prince's leaving the court and of what he had resolved upon, he stood in fear of being treated as he was the time before. He therefore quitted Catalonia before the queen's dispatch had reached him, and got into Languedoc, with Baltasar, Lussan, Montpouillan, le Marcousse, and as many of his troops as he could get away. That desertion gave a wonderful advantage to the Spaniards in Catalonia, and it may be said that it cost France that province.

The prince in the meanwhile neglected nothing on the side of Guienne. He brought over to his party the whole nobility and gentry of that province. Even the old Marshal de la Force declared for him ; and the Count de Daugnon, Governor of Brouage, who owed his fortune intirely to the Duke de Brezé, thought himself obliged to shew his gratitude to the Princess of Condé, who was sister to his benefactor.

The Prince of Condé did not forget to seek for support abroad. Lainé was sent into Spain, where he concluded that prince's treaty with his Catholick majesty; and the archduke who commanded in the Netherlands, and who had taken Bergues-St.-Vinox, made preparations on his side which afterwards cost France Dunkirk and Gravelines, and which from the time of those preparations obliged the court to keep upon that frontier part of the troops, which had otherwise been very necessary in Guienne. These clouds however did not all the harm, at least within the kingdom, that might have been feared from their thickness and blackness. The prince, in the levies he made, was not served as his quality and his person deserved. The Marshal de la Force acted not, in his private capacity, in a manner answerable to the rest of his actions. The forts at Rochelle, which were in the Count de Daugnon's hands, held out but a very little while against the Count d'Harcourt, who commanded the king's army. The Spaniards, who had Bourg, a place in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, put into their hands, succoured it but in a weak manner. All that the prince could do was only the taking the town of Agen and that of Saintes. He was obliged to raise the siege from before Cognac; and the greatest general in the world without exception, learnt himself, or rather taught to others on all these occasions, that the most heroick valour and the most extraordinary capacity are able to support but

with a great deal of difficulty, new raised forces, against old disciplined troops.

Having resolved from the beginning of these memoirs to insist only upon matters of which I have had a particular knowledge, I touch upon what passed in Guienne, in the first movements of the prince, but in a very slight manner, and but just as much as the knowledge of them is necessary to you, for the connection they have with what I am to relate of things that passed under my eyes at Paris, and of what I could discover of the designs of the court.

From Bourges, where I have said that the court went, it advanced to Poitiers that it might be nearer at hand to oppose the prince's steps. As they came to perceive there that the prince did not fall into the trap which they had laid for him, by means of a negotiation, in which, as they pretended, though wrongfully in my opinion, they had brought Gourville to be of their side, they ceased to keep any manner of measures with him, and the queen sent a declaration [1] to the *Parlement* against him, whereby she declared him guilty of high treason. This to my thinking was the critical moment that gave rise to the revolution that ensued. There are but very few people who have known the true mystery of it, though there was not one but thought that he had found it out. Some have fancied that that mystery consisted in the cabals which, as they would persuade themselves, had been made at court, for and against the king's journey. But nothing is falser. That journey was undertaken by the general advice of every one. The queen longed with impatience to get free, and be at a place where she might recall the cardinal when she pleased. The sub-ministers, by all their letters, encouraged the thought she had. The duke wished more than any one the removal of the court, because his natural and predominant temper made him always find a great pleasure in everything that might diminish the respects which the king's presence obliged him constantly to pay. M. de Châteauneuf added to his desire of rendering the prince, by some new step that would make a noise, still more irreconcileable to the court, the view of introducing himself into the queen's favour, during a journey in which the absence of the cardinal and the removal of the sub-ministers, gave him room to hope that he might still render himself both more agreeable and more necessary. The first president concurred

[1] Joli says that the Duke of Orleans hindered for a fortnight together that declaration from being verified, but that the party of the court, to which the coadjutor's friends joined themselves, carried it at last, so that it was read and registered at the *Parlement* on December 4, 1651.

in it to the best of his power, both because he thought that journey extremely useful to the king's service, and because the haughtiness with which M. de Châteauneuf treated him was become insupportable to him.

M. de la Vieuville was not sorry, as it appeared to me, not to be too narrowly watched during the first days of his exercising his office of superintendant of the finances; and Bordeaux, who was his chief confidant, spoke to me in a manner that expressed even some impatience that the king was not already gone. The Frondeurs were not less impatient for the king's going, both because they saw the real necessity there was, not to give the prince time to settle himself beyond the Loire, and because they thought that they might reckon upon the duke in a much surer manner when he was at some distance from the court, than when he was near it. This was what appeared to me of the disposition in which everybody, without exception, was in respect to the king's journey; and I cannot comprehend what ground those could have, that have reported, and even, if I mistake not, published in writing, the diversity of opinions that were delivered at the council-board, upon that subject.

You may therefore see that there was no manner of mystery in the king's going; but in recompence, there was a great deal in what followed that going, because everybody found in it the reverse of what he had imagined. The queen met in it, by the obstacles which M. de Châteauneuf formed against the recalling of the cardinal, more trouble beyond comparison than that which she had had at Paris. The sub-ministers were mortally afraid that use and necessity should at last settle in the queen's mind, not only M. de Châteauneuf, but likewise M. de Villeroy, who seemed weary of their advice. On the other hand, M. de Châteauneuf did not find his hopes so well grounded as he expected, the queen continuing all the while in an intimate concert with the cardinal, and with all those that were truly devoted to his interest. The duke soon became less sensible to the pleasure of being free, which the absence of the court afforded him, than to the jealousy which quickly arose in him from the reports that were spread abroad of some secret negotiations, which he thought the more dangerous by reason of his being so far distant from the court. M. de la Vieuville, who was more afraid of Mazarin than anybody, told me a fortnight after the king had left Paris, that we had all been great fools in not opposing it. I owned it both in my name and in the name of all the Frondeurs. I still continue to own it now very sincerely, and I think this

fault one of the greatest that any one could have committed on this occasion: I mean any one of those that did not wish for the return of Cardinal Mazarin; for as to those that were in his interest, it is certain that they acted as they ought to do. What made us commit that fault, was the natural inclination which all men have to seek rather for present ease, than for what may bring them ease afterwards. I fell into it as all the rest did, and the example of others makes me not the less ashamed of it. Our oversight was so much the greater, and the more unpardonable, because we had foreseen the inconveniences of it, which indeed were not only visible but palpable; and because we chose to run the risk of the greater to avoid the smaller. There was beyond comparison less danger for us in letting the prince take breath and fortify himself in Guienne, than in setting the queen at full liberty to recall her favourite. This errour is one of those which has, I think, obliged me to tell you sometimes, that the most ordinary cause of people's mistakes, is their being too much frightened at the present danger, and not enough so at that which is remote. It was not long before we felt, as well as learnt, that capital faults which are committed in a party opposed to the royal authority, confound the whole party so intirely, that it is hardly possible for those that have had a hand in committing those faults, not to be reduced to the necessity of committing new ones, let them behave themselves never so wisely. I explain myself. The duke having properly put into the queen's hands the recalling of the cardinal, had now but three ways to follow; of which one was, to consent to his return; another, to oppose it in concert with the Prince of Condé, and the last, to form a third party in the state. The first of these ways was shameful, after the publick engagements into which he had entered; the second had but little safety in it, by reason of the continual negotiations, which the subdivisions of the prince's party were daily and inevitably the occasion of; the third was dangerous for the state, and besides impracticable on the duke's side, because it was beyond his ability.

M. de Châteauneuf being with the court at a distance from Paris, had no other way but the flattering the queen with the hopes of her minister's return, or the opposing that return by obstacles which he might form by his court intrigues. The first of these ways was ruinous, because the present state of affairs shewed the hopes of that return to be too near to pretend to find means to baffle them; the second was chimerical, considering the queen's humour and obstinacy.

As to myself, in what manner could I behave that might be accounted wise and judicious? I was necessarily obliged, either to serve the queen according to her desire, for the return of the cardinal; or to oppose it jointly with the duke; or to keep a middle way between these two. I was besides necessitated, either to come to an accommodation with the prince, or to remain upon the same terms I was. But what safety could I meet with in all these several ways? My declaring for the cardinal's return had irretrievably ruined me with the duke, the *Parlement*, and the people; and for my surety I must have depended on Mazarin's word. My joining with the duke against Mazarin's return, would according to all manner of rules have occasioned, a quarter of an hour after, a revocation of my nomination to the cardinalship. As to the prince, could I remain with him upon the terms I was, supposing the duke joined with him, and I with the duke? Could I come on the other hand to an accommodation with the prince, at the time that the queen declared that she resolved upon my nomination meerly upon my promising her that I would not come to an accommodation with him? The king's stay at Paris must have kept the queen within such bounds as would have prevented many of these inconveniencies, and would have lessened the others. We contributed to the king's journey, when it was in our power to have obstructed it by many imperceptible means. What happened of it is what always happens to those that lose certain instants which are critical and decisive in affairs. For finding now that we had not any good way left, every one of us chose that wherein he perceived the least evil; which never fails to produce two ill effects: the one is, that such a medley of views is always confused; and the other, that the distinguishing of these views can never happen but by a meer work of chance. I shall explain this, and apply it to the matter now in question, after I have given you an account of some pretty curious and remarkable facts that happened at that time.

The queen, who had always had in her thoughts the restoring of Cardinal Mazarin, began, as soon as she found herself free, not to constrain herself so much in relation to his return; and Messieurs de Châteauneuf and de Villeroy found, as soon as the court was arrived at Poitiers, that the hopes which they had conceived were not, at least by the event, well grounded. The success which the Count d'Harcourt had had in Guienne; the conduct of the *Parlement* of Paris, who was against the cardinal, but who forbad under pain of death the levies which the prince made to oppose his return; the divisions which appeared publickly in the duke's

family, between those that were attached to the prince, and those that were my friends; incouraged those that supported the cardinal's interest with the queen. The queen herself had but too much courage in things which she was inclined to. D'Hocquincourt, who went secretly to Brühl, shewed the cardinal a list of 8000 men ready to receive him upon the frontiers, and to carry him in a triumphant manner as far as Poitiers. I have learnt of one who was present at their conversation, that nothing touched him more sensibly than the thoughts of seeing an army bearing his colours (for d'Hocquincourt had taken green colours to honour the cardinal) and that this weakness in him was observed by everybody. The queen, however, continued in the way of negotiating, at the same time that she projected to make use of that of arms. Gourville took several journeys in favour of the prince. Bartet came to Paris to bring over to the cardinal's interest M. de Bouillon, M. de Turenne and me. This scene is curious enough to dwell a little longer upon it. I have already told you that Messieurs de Bouillon and de Turenne had left the prince's party. They lived very retired in Paris, and except their particular friends, they were seen but by few persons. I was of that number; and knowing, as well as any other at least, of what merit and weight these gentlemen were, I omitted nothing, both to apprize the duke of it, and to ingage the two brothers in his interest. His natural aversion to the eldest, which he could give no reason for, hindered him from doing what he owed to himself on this occasion; and the contempt which the youngest had for him, for a reason best known to himself, did not help to make my negotiation succeed. That of Bartet, who arrived at Paris just at this time, became but one between the two brothers and myself, by the means of the Princess Palatine, who was equally a friend to us three, and to whom Bartet had orders to address himself directly.

She assembled us at her house betwixt twelve and one at night, where she presented Bartet to us, who after a torrent of expressions worthy a Gascon, told us that the queen, who was resolved to recall the cardinal, was unwilling to execute her resolution without hearing what we had to say to it. M. de Bouillon, who swore to me an hour after in the presence of the Princess Palatine, that he had not to that day received any proposals from the court, at least in form, seemed to me imbarrassed; but he got off in his usual manner, that is, as a man that knew better than anybody that I have ever seen, how to speak the most when he said the least. M. de Turenne, who was more

laconick, and in truth much more frank, turned towards me and said: "I believe that M. Bartet pulls by the sleeve all those he meets with in the streets with black clothes on, to ask their opinion about the return of the cardinal, for I do not see any more reason to ask it of my brother and me, than of all those that have this day passed over the Pont-Neuf." "There is much less reason to ask it of me," answered I, "for there are persons who have this day passed upon the Pont-Neuf, who might give their advice on the matter; but the queen knows that this is a subject which I dare not enter upon." Bartet replied to me bluntly, and without the least hesitation: "And what will then become of your hat?" "What it shall please providence," answered I. "But what return will you make the queen for it?" added he. "What I have told her a hundred times over," answered I. "I will come to no accommodation with the prince, if my nomination is not revoked. But I will be friends with him to-morrow, and be one of his party, if they continue so much as to threaten me with it." The conversation grew warm, but however it ended tolerably well; and M. de Bouillon observed as well as I, that Bartet's order was to rest contented with what I had so often told the queen upon that account, in case he could get no more from me.

As to Messieurs de Bouillon and de Turenne, the confabulation which Bartet had with them was much stronger. I call it confabulation out of jest, because nothing was more ridiculous than to see a little insignificant fellow, sprung from the borders of Gascony, take it upon him to persuade two of the greatest men in the world to commit the greatest piece of folly imaginable, which was to declare for the court before they had taken any measures there. They would not therefore hearken to what Bartet said to them at that time; but they entered soon after into sure measures with the court. M. de Turenne had the promise of commanding the armies, and M. de Bouillon had assurances given him of the immense recompence which he has since had in lieu of Sedan. They were so kind as to intrust me with the secret of their accommodation, though I was of a contrary party, and their confidence in me proved quickly after the cause that they were not taken up.

The duke, who was informed that they went to serve the king, and that they were to leave Paris upon such a day, and at such an hour, told me just as I came to take my leave of them, that it was necessary to arrest them, and that he was going to order the Viscount d'Autel, captain of his guards, to do it. I leave you

to judge what trouble this put me to, when I came on one side to consider the just occasion I should give to think that I had betrayed my friends' secret, and on the other what means I could make use of to prevent the duke from executing what he had resolved. I began by expressing the doubt I was in about the truth of the information that had been given him. I represented to him the inconveniency of offending, upon a meer suspicion, persons of that quality and of that merit; and when I perceived that he relied upon his information, which in effect was very certain, and that he persisted in his resolution, I changed my note, and thought only upon delaying the thing till they had time to get away safe. Fortune favoured my design: the Viscount d'Autel, that was sent for, could not be found. The duke amused himself about a medal which Bruneau brought him very *à propos;* and I had time to send M. de Turenne word by Varennes, whom I met with by great luck, to escape without losing one moment of time; and in this manner the Viscount d'Autel missed the two brothers by two or three hours. The duke's vexation at it lasted not much longer; and five or six days after, having found him in good humour, I told him the thing. He did not take it amiss, and he was even so kind as to tell me, that if I had opened myself to him at the time that he mentioned the thing to me, he would have given the preference to my interest in the thing, which was much more considerable than his was, by reason of the secret with which I had been intrusted. This adventure was not an obstacle, as you may think, to the strengthning the old friendship that was between M. de Turenne and me.

You have already seen, in more than one place of these memoirs, that M. de la Rochefoucauld's friendship for me was not upon the same foot. A mark I received of it, which deserves not to be omitted, is this. M. Talon, who is now secretary of the king's cabinet, and who was even at that time attached to the interest of the cardinal, came one morning into my chamber as I was in bed; and after making me a compliment, and naming himself, (for I did not so much as know him by sight) he told me that though he was not in my interest, he thought himself obliged to give me notice of the danger which I ran. That his detestation for evil acts, and his respect for my person, obliged him to tell me, that Gourville, and la Roche-Cochon, who belonged to M. de la Rochefoucauld, and was major of the garrison of Damvilliers, had like to have assassinated me the day before upon the quay which is over against the Petit-Bourbon. I returned thanks, as you may well judge, to M. Talon, for whom

I shall certainly preserve so long as I live a heart full of gratitude. But being used to receive advices of this nature, I did not make due reflection upon the name and the merit of the person that gave me this notice, and I was not prevented by it from going the next evening to Madam de Pommereux's alone in my coach, with no other followers but two pages, and three or four footmen. M. Talon came again to me the next morning; and after having expressed some surprize at the little attention I had to his first advice, he told me that the gentlemen he had spoke to me of, had again missed me about a quarter of an hour, near the Blancs-Manteaux, the night before about nine, which was just the time I came away from Madam de Pommereux.

This second advice, which seemed to me more particular than the other, awakened me from my lethargy. I kept upon my guard, and walked abroad in a condition not to be surprized. I enquired, by means of M. Talon himself, of the whole detail. I got la Roche-Cochon arrested and examined before the *lieutenant-criminel*. He said that he was ordered by M. de la Rochefoucauld to take me away by force and carry me to Damvilliers: that for that purpose he had taken with him sixty chosen men out of the garrison of that place, which he had got into Paris one by one; that Gourville and he having observed that I came away every night from the Hôtel de Chevreuse, between twelve and one, with ten or twelve gentlemen only, in two coaches, they had posted their men under the arch which is over against the Petit-Bourbon; that perceiving upon such a night that I had taken a contrary way to that of the quay, they lay in wait for me the next night near the Blancs-Manteaux, where they had again missed me, because the man who was to have watched my coming from Madam de Pommereux's had spent his time in drinking at a tavern that was near. This is la Roche-Cochon's deposition, of which the *lieutenant-criminel* shewed the Duke of Orleans the original in my presence.

You will easily believe that after such a confession it had not been a difficult matter for me to get him broken upon the wheel, and that if he had been put to the rack, he had perhaps confessed something more than a design of carrying me away forcibly. The Count de Pas, brother to M. de Feuquières, and to the present Count de Pas, to whom I had a very great obligation, came to intreat me to give him his life, which I granted him. I obliged the duke to order the *lieutenant-criminel* to cease his proceedings, and as the duke was telling me, that it ought at least to be carried as far as the rack, to draw from him the whole truth,

I answered him in the hearing of all those that were present: "It is something so brave, sir, so gallant, and so extraordinary, to men that undertake things of this nature, to expose themselves to utter ruin, if they fail to execute an action as difficult as that of taking away forcibly a man who never goes by night unaccompanied, and of carrying him sixty leagues beyond the frontiers of France; I say it is something so gallant to run that risk, rather than resolve upon assassinating the person; that it is best in my opinion not to penetrate too far, for fear of discovering something that disfigures a generosity which does honour to our age." Every one laughed at what I said, and perhaps you will do the like. The truth is, that I was willing to shew my gratitude to the Count de Pas, who had obliged me very sensibly two or three months before, by sending me back gratis all the cattle of Commercy which were his by the rules of war, having retaken it after the twenty-four hours allowed. I was afraid that if the matter was carried farther, and that the design of an assassination, which was already but too visible, was once fully proved, it would be no longer in my power to get that unhappy gentleman out of the hands of the *Parlement*.

I caused the proceedings to cease by the instances I made to the *lieutenant-criminel*. I intreated the duke to cause the prisoner to be by his authority removed to the Bastille, the duke refusing to set him at liberty, though I pressed him to do it. The prisoner however found means to escape five or six months after, being but very slightly guarded. A gentleman who belongs to me, whose name is Malclerc, having got with him la Forêt, lieutenant to the Prévôt de l'Isle, arrested Gourville at Mont-Léry, as he was passing through that place to go to the court, where M. de la Rochefoucauld had always some secret negotiations; for Gourville had not been above three or four hours under arrest, when an order came from the first president to set him free.

It must be owned that I could not have escaped that enterprize but by a kind of miracle. The day that they missed me upon the quay, I went to M. de Caumartin, to whom I said that I was so weary of riding always in the streets with five or six coaches full of gentlemen, and of firearms, that I desired him to take me into his, and to carry me without any liveries to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, where I intended to be betimes, though my design was to sup there. M. de Caumartin made many difficulties about it, because of the danger to which I was continually exposed; and he consented to it only upon my promising that he should be rid of his charge at my return, and that my people should wait on

me in the evening at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, as it was their custom to do. Upon my promising this I sat myself down at the back part of his coach, the curtains being half way down; and I remember that meeting upon the quay with some men with buff coats, he said to me: "These men lie perhaps here in wait for you." I made then no manner of reflection upon it; I spent the whole evening at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, and at my coming away it happened that I had but nine gentlemen to accompany me, which was a very unfit number to prevent my being assassinated. Madam de Rhodes, who had that evening a mourning coach quite new, finding that it rained, desired me to take her into my coach, fearing her own would daub her. I excused it at first, bantering her upon her nicety. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse came running after me to the staircase, and obliged me to do it; and this was what saved my life, because I passed through the street of St. Honoré to go to the Hôtel de Brissac, where Madam de Rhodes lodged, by which means they missed me upon the quay. If you add to this circumstance, that of the Blancs-Manteaux, and if you reflect on the uncommon generosity of M. Talon, who being of a party so directly opposite to mine, was yet so honest as to give me notice of this enterprize, you will confess that no man has it in his power to dispose of the life of another man. I now come to what I have promised you in respect to the consequences which the king's journey produced.

I think that I was telling you that being convinced in less than a fortnight's time, that after the fault we had committed there was no way left for us to take but what was accompanied with terrible inconveniencies, we at last chose one that was, as it always proves in like cases, the most dangerous of all, because we came to no general determination, but every one of us was left to follow the way he thought least hurtful. The duke did not take up arms with the prince, and thought thereby that he did much for the court. He declared himself in Paris and in the *Parlement* against Mazarin's return, fancying that that was sufficient to satisfy the publick. M. de Châteauneuf continued for some time, whilst the court was at Poitiers, to think that he might deceive the queen by putting her in hopes of restoring her favourite at such conjunctures as he thought remote. But when he came to perceive that the impatience of the queen and the eagerness of the cardinal had brought these conjunctures much nearer than he expected, he resolved upon speaking plainly, and upon opposing directly Mazarin's return; which he did with that sort of freedom which always proves as useless as it is

odious, when it is only made use of in default of success in one's artifice. The *Parlement*, who was too far engaged against Mazarin to suffer his being restored, appeared exasperated at the least signs that were seen of it. But on the other side, being unwilling to do anything contrary to form and to the king's authority, those of that body were themselves breaking all the measures that might be taken in order to prevent Mazarin's being restored. As to myself, I was against it as much as anybody; but being as much against the prince's being restored, for the reasons which I have mentioned before, I was forced against my will to contribute to the first, by a conduct which, though judicious for the present, because it was necessary, was inexcusable in its first principle, which was the committing one of those capital errors, after which it is impossible to do anything wisely. This was at last the thing that undid us all, as you will see by the sequel.

The duke, who was the man in the world who loved best to invent reasons that might prevent his coming to any determination, had all along been persuading himself that the queen would never bring to effect the intention, which he owned she had and would always have, of recalling the cardinal to court. When it was no longer in his power to deceive himself, he thought that the only remedy would be to imbarrass the queen without exasperating her; and I observed on this occasion what I have done on many others, that *Men are naturally led to fancy that they will bemuse others by the same means that they would themselves be bemused by*. The duke never came to act but when he was pressed to it, and Fremont used to call him the inventor of interlocutory decrees. Of all the means that could be used to press him to act, the most effectual and infallible was that of fear; so that when he was free from that passion he would naturally remain inactive. The same temper that causes this disposition, causes likewise a disposition to resolve upon nothing till you are necessitated to do it. The duke judged of the queen's disposition by his own; and I remember that one day as I was representing to him that it was not only prudent, but even necessary to change one's conduct according to the different minds of those one has to do with; he answered me in these very words: "That is a mistake; everybody thinks alike; but there are persons who can better hide their thoughts than others." The first reflection I made on these words was, that the greatest imperfection that men have, is the pleasure they take in persuading themselves that others are not free from the

imperfections which they perceive themselves subject to. The duke was deceived in this occasion more still than in any other; for the queen's boldness was sufficient, without any further exasperation, (which was the thing the duke would avoid) to bring her to execute her resolution; and that same boldness made her likewise overcome all the obstacles whereby the duke thought to traverse her. He was still willing to fancy that by not joining with the prince, and by sending sometimes M. Danville, sometimes Sommeri to negotiate for him at court, he should deceive the queen, whom he thought he might restrain by the apprehension of his declaring against the court. He was likewise willing to fancy that by inciting the *Parlement* against the return of the minister, which he did in a publick manner, he should only give the court that sort of apprehension which is fitter to restrain than to hurry on. As the duke spoke very well, he one day expressed his whole thoughts very finely upon that subject, to the President de Bellièvre and to me, which however did not at all persuade us. We opposed a multitude of reasons to what he had said; but he meerly destroyed all of ours by repeating only what I have already mentioned, that is, by saying to us: "We have committed the fault of letting the queen go out of Paris; all our steps now cannot be but faulty, and we can resolve upon nothing that is good; we must only go on as each day's occasions shall require, and that being granted, there is nothing to be done but what I have said." It was on this occasion that I proposed to the duke to form a third party, for which I have since received so many reproaches, and which I had thought on but two days before. You have here the whole plan of it.

I can say truly and without vanity that as soon as I saw the queen out of Paris with an army, I took it almost for granted that the cardinal's return was infallible; judging that the weakness of the duke, the disappointment of the *Parlement*, the negotiations to which the several cabals that divided the prince's party were altogether inclined, could not hold long against the queen's obstinacy and the weight of the royal authority. I have no design to value myself for having betimes discovered this, because I am forced to own that having made this discovery only from the time that the court was got to Poitiers, I made it too late. I have already mentioned, and I cannot do it too much, that a greater fault than ours was never committed, in not opposing the king's journey, a fault still greater because nothing could be more obvious than the consequences. This gross mistake into which every one of us fell in emulation of one

another, is one of the causes that has sometimes obliged me to tell you, that there are faults that can hardly proceed from humanity, being so very gross that creatures endowed with common sense could never, one would think, be guilty of them.

After I had enough considered and weighed the consequences of this, I thought of some means for repairing it as to my own self; and having made all the reflections on the state of things which you have seen dispersed in the preceding pages, I found but two ways to come off, one of which I have mentioned before, the duke, whose nature it suited with, having from the first and of himself entered into it. It might have suited with my interest, because the duke, by it, not declaring himself for the prince, and continuing his negotiations at court, gave me time thereby to sollicit for my hat. But this way appeared good to me no farther than necessity absolutely required it; because it could not procure the advantage which it might perhaps give by the event to the post of cardinal, without being very suspicious to all those who were in the interest of what was called the publick. I was altogether unwilling to lose that publick, and this consideration, added to the others, which I have mentioned before, made me be dissatisfied with a conduct, the appearances of which were not good, and the success besides very uncertain.

I therefore thought of another way, which was greater and nobler, and which I pitched upon for that reason without any hesitation: it was, to endeavour to bring the duke to form publickly a third party, apart from the prince, and composed of Paris, and of most of the great cities of the kingdom, which were very much disposed to stir, and in some of which I had good intelligence. The Count de Fuensaldagne,[1] who thought that the distrust I had of the prince's ill-will to me was the only thing which obliged me to keep some measures with the court, had sent Don Antonio de la Crusa to me, with some proposals that gave me the first hint of the project which I am now speaking of. That gentleman had offered to make a secret treaty with me, whereby he engaged to assist me with money, without obliging me to anything that might discover my intercourse with Spain.

The notion which I formed to myself from many other circumstances that happened at that time, was to propose to the duke to declare publickly in the *Parlement*, that finding the queen resolved to restore Cardinal Mazarin to his former post,

[1] So much mention having been made in these *Memoirs* of the Count de Fuensaldagne and of the court of Brussels, the reader may be referred to the account given of them in Lord Clarendon's *History*.

he was resolved on his side to oppose it by all the ways which his birth and his publick engagements would permit him to use; that it would agree neither with his prudence nor his honour to content himself with the remonstrances of the *Parlement*, which the queen would at first elude, and despise at last, whilst the cardinal was levying forces to enter into France, and to render himself master of the king's person, as he was already master of the queen's inclinations; that being the king's uncle, he thought himself bound to tell the company that they were obliged in justice to join with him in a conjuncture, when properly speaking the thing in question was only the preservation of their own decrees, and of the declarations which were owing to their instances; that their prudence did no less require it, the company being well apprized that the whole city conspired with him in a design so necessary to the good of the kingdom; that he was unwilling to discover his mind so openly to them, before he had put himself in a condition that might permit him to assure them of the success, considering the good order into which he had put affairs; that he had so much in ready money; that he was already sure of such and such places; and upon the whole, that what ought to move the company more than any other thing, and even oblige them to embrace with joy the happy necessity in which they found themselves to work jointly with him for the good of the kingdom, was the publick engagement into which he entered from that moment with them, never to entertain any intelligence with the enemies of the state, and never to hearken, either directly or indirectly, to any negotiation that was not proposed in full *Parlement*, the chambers being assembled; finally, that he disowned all that the prince had transacted and was transacting with the Spaniards; and that for that reason, and because of the frequent and suspicious negotiations of all those of the prince's party, he would have no other communication with him than what common civility required in respect to a prince of his merit. This is what I proposed to the duke, and what I supported with all the reasons that might shew the possibility of putting it in practice, of which I am still altogether persuaded. I enlarged upon the inconveniencies of the opposite conduct, and I foretold him all that he afterwards saw of the conduct of the *Parlement*, where at the same time that they were giving out decrees against the cardinal, they declared those that should oppose his return guilty of high treason.

The duke remained fixed in his resolution; either because

he was afraid, as he said he was, of the union of the great cities, which indeed might become dangerous to the state; or because he was afraid that the prince should come to an accommodation with the queen, and unite with her against him; to which evil I had however shewn him more than one remedy. What appeared to me was, that the burthen was too weighty for him to bear. The truth is that it was beyond his strength; and that for that reason I was in the wrong to press him about it. It is true besides, that the union of the great cities, considering the disposition they were in, might have fatal consequences. That made me scruple the thing, because it is certain that I have always feared what might in effect prove prejudicial to the state, and Caumartin could never approve the project for that reason. What hurried me into it, if I may say so, against my common way of acting, and against my inclination, was the confusion into which we were going to fall by following the contrary way; and the ridicule of a conduct, whereby it appeared to me that we were all going to fight after the manner of the ancient *andabatæ*.[1]

The second conversation which I had upon this subject with the duke in the great walk of the Tuileries, was pretty curious, and by the event almost prophetical. I said to his royal highness: "What will become of you, sir, when the prince is reconciled with the court, or gone over into Spain? When the *Parlement* shall give out decrees against the cardinal, and declare those criminal that shall oppose his return? When you can no longer with honour or safety remain a Frondeur, or become a Mazarinian?" The duke answered: "I shall remain a son of France; you will become a cardinal, and keep your coadjutorship." To which I replied instantly, as if I had been moved by some enthusiasm: "You will be a son of France confined at Blois, and I a cardinal at the castle of Vincennes." The duke was not moved, whatever I could say; and so we were forced from day to day to rush on blindfold, for so Patru called our way of acting. I will enter into the particulars of our conduct, after I have given you an account of a very vexatious thing that happened to me at that time.

Bartet, who was come to Paris as you have already seen to negotiate with M. de Bouillon, M. de Turenne, and me, had likewise the queen's order to see Madam de Chevreuse, and to try to persuade her to attach herself still more intimately to her

[1] The *andabatæ* were a sort of gladiators who, according to Cicero, fought blindfold, whence the Latin proverb *Andabatarum more pugnare.*

than she had hitherto done. He found her extremely well disposed to his negotiation. Laigue was a man full of himself, and of a temper, besides, the most changeable in the world. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse had some time before given me notice that he was every day telling her mother, that it was time to end this business, that all was run into confusion, and that we were all of us at a nonplus. Bartet, who was a sharp, piercing and insolent man, having perceived Laigue's foible, made a very cunning use of it; he threatened, he promised, and at last he engaged Madam de Chevreuse to promise him that she would no way oppose the return of the cardinal,[1] and that in case she could not persuade me upon that article, she would do her utmost to hinder M. de Noirmoutier, who was governor of Charleville and of Mont-Olympe, from sticking close to my interest, though he had the government of these places only by my means. Noirmoutier suffered himself to be corrupted by her, under colour of the hopes she gave him from the court; so that when I would oblige him to offer his services to the duke, at the time that the cardinal was entering into France with his troops, he declared to me that he belonged to the king; that in anything that related personally to me, he would always pass over all manner of considerations; but that in the present conjuncture, when the matter in question was only a falling out between the duke and the court, he thought it unfit for him to be wanting in his duty. You may judge how much I resented this action. I complained of him in most bitter terms, and I carried my passion so far, that though I went every day to see Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who declared herself openly against her mother on this occasion, I saluted neither him nor Laigue, and I hardly opened my mouth to Madam de Chevreuse. I return to my narration.

Upon the opening of the *Parlement* at the St. Martin's of the year 1651, the company deputed Messieurs Doujat and Baron to the Duke of Orleans, who was at Limours, to desire him to come and take his seat upon account of a declaration which the king had sent to their bar upon October 8, whereby he declared the prince guilty of high treason.

The duke came to the *Parlement* on November 20, and the first president having enlarged, even emphatically, upon all that passed in Guienne, concluded for registering the declaration as a

[1] I find in Madam de Motteville's *Memoirs*, a treaty pretended to be concluded between Cardinal Mazarin, Madam de Chevreuse, M. de Châteauneuf, and the coadjutor, for restoring the cardinal, which can be referred to in her volumes.

thing necessary, in order to obey the king's command, which was extremely just (that was his term). The duke, who as you have seen before, had resolved otherwise, answered the first president that this matter was not to be hurried on; that there must be time allowed to bring it to an accommodation; that it was the thing to which he applied himself to the best of his power; that M. Danville was on the road, bringing him news from the court; that it was surprizing that they should press a declaration against a prince of the blood, and that not the least notice should be taken of Cardinal Mazarin's preparations for entering in arms into the kingdom.

I should tire you to no manner of purpose if I entered into the detail of what passed in the assemblies of the chambers, which began, as I just now said, upon November 20; since those of the 23rd, of the 24th, and of the 28th of that month, and of December 1 and 2, were, properly speaking, employed only in repeating continually the necessity of registering the declaration, which the first president pressed in the king's name; and in hearing the several reasons which the duke alleged to oblige the company to delay it. At one time he expected the return of a gentleman whom he had sent to court to negotiate; at another he assured the company that M. Danville was to come very soon from the court, with alterations that softened it; at other times he raised difficulties about the form that ought to be observed, when the matter in question was the condemning a prince of the blood; at others he maintained that the thing necessarily previous to all, was to think of taking proper precautions against the return of the cardinal; at others he presented letters from the prince, some directed to the king and some to the *Parlement*, whereby he demanded to clear himself. When he found that the *Parlement* would not suffer these letters to be read, because they came from a prince who was in arms against his king, and that most of the company were inclining to have the declaration registered, he gave the thing over, and he sent M. de Croissy to the *Parlement* upon the 4th, to desire the company not to expect him when the registering of the declaration was to be put to the vote, having resolved not to be present on that occasion. The matter was debated without him, and was carried by a majority of 120 votes, there having been in the debate three or four different opinions, but more in respect to form than to substance; and it was decreed to have the declaration read and registered, that it might be executed according to its form and tenor.

What put the duke into a consternation, was that Croissy

having desired the company, after the debate was over, to name a day to deliberate about the return of Cardinal Mazarin, which was no longer questioned, he was hardly heard. The duke spoke to me of it that evening, and told me that he was resolved to stir up the people in order to awaken the *Parlement;* to which I answered in these very words: "The *Parlement*, sir, will awake, only to make speeches against the cardinal, and then will fall again into a lethargick sleep. Besides, I desire your royal highness to consider that the clock had struck twelve when M. de Croissy spoke, and that everybody wanted their dinner." He took this last for a jest, though I spoke it very seriously; he ordered Arnaut, master of his wardrobe, to raise a kind of commotion by the means of Maillard, of whom I have had occasion to speak in an earlier part of these memoirs. That wretch, to cover his game the better, went with twenty or thirty of his gang to make a noise at the duke's palace, from whence they went to the first president, who ordered his gates to be opened to them, and speaking with his usual intrepidity, he threatened to send them to the gallows.

Upon the 7th the *Parlement* in a full assembly of the chambers put out a decree to prevent for the future these insolences. However the company thought fit to consider that it was necessary for them to take off the pretences which occasioned them, and they assembled upon the 9th to deliberate upon the current report of the sudden return of the cardinal. The duke having said in that assembly that that return was but too certain, the first president tried to shift it off by proposing to call for the king's council, and to get the informations read, which according to former decrees ought to have been made against the cardinal. M. Talon represented that the matter in question had nothing to do with these informations; that the cardinal having been condemned by the king's declaration, there was no need of other proofs, and that if any informations were to be made it could only be about the contraventions against that declaration. His conclusions were, to depute to his majesty to inform him of the current report of the cardinal's return, and to intreat him to confirm what he had promised to all his people upon this subject, by his royal word. He added that all governors of provinces and of towns should be forbidden to give passage to the cardinal, and that all other *Parlements* should be informed of this decree, and exhorted to put out a similar one. After these conclusions of the advocate-general, they went on to deliver their opinions; but having not time to go through it that day, and the duke

finding himself ill on the Sunday night, the assembly was put off to Wednesday, December 15. The company upon that day agreed almost unanimously to put out a decree conformable to the advocate-general's conclusions, which besides what I have mentioned, imported that the king should be entreated to acquaint the pope and other foreign princes with the reasons that had obliged him to remove the cardinal from his person, and from his councils.

There was an interlude that day which will convince you that it was not without reason that I had foreseen how difficult it would be for me to act my part conformably to the conduct which we followed. Machaut and Fleury, two counsellors devoted altogether to the prince, having said in their speeches that the disorders of the state were occasioned only by persons who would by any means whatsoever carry the cardinal's hat, I interrupted the first to tell him, that I was so used to see cardinal's hats in my family, that it was not likely that I should be so much dazzled at its colour, as to be prompted by it to do all the hurt with which I was charged. As one ought not to interrupt anybody whilst he is speaking, a great clamour arose against me in favour of Machaut. I begged of the company to excuse my warmth, which however, added I, does not proceed from want of respect.

One of the company having said in delivering his opinion, that they ought forthwith to proceed in respect of Cardinal Mazarin, as was formerly done in respect of the Admiral de Coligny, which was in so many words to set a price upon his head, I rose up as did likewise all the other members that were clergymen, they being forbidden by the canons of the church to assist at any deliberations where the shedding of blood is mentioned.

Upon the 18th those of the inquests went by deputies to the grand chamber to ask for an assembly of the chambers, on occasion of a letter which Cardinal Mazarin had written to M. d'Elbeuf, to ask his advice about his return into France. The first president owned that he had that letter, which M. d'Elbeuf had sent to him; that he had at the same time dispatched an express to the king to give him an account of it, and to let him know the consequence; that he was expecting the return of his express, intending afterwards to assemble the chambers, if the king's answer was not to his satisfaction. Those of the inquests were not satisfied with this. They sent again the next day, which was the 19th, their deputies to the grand chamber, and the first

president was obliged to assemble the chambers upon the 20th, having first invited the duke to be present. The first president having then acquainted the company that the occasion of this assembly was the above-mentioned letter, and the coming of M. de Noailles to M. d'Elbeuf, the king's council were sent for, who by the mouth of M. Talon gave their conclusions, which were, that conformably to the decree given upon such a day the *Parlement* should, as soon as possible, send deputies to the king to inform his majesty of what passed upon the frontiers; that his majesty should be intreated to write to the Elector of Cologne that he should order the cardinal to withdraw from his dominions; that the Duke of Orleans should be desired to send to the king in his own name, to the same effect, and to send likewise to the Marshal d'Hocquincourt and to the other generals, to give them notice of Cardinal Mazarin's design to return into France; that some of the company should be named to go upon the frontiers, and make an official report of what was doing there in relation to that return; that the mayors and the magistrates of places should be forbidden to give the cardinal passage, or a place of assembly to any troops that intended to favour him, or any retreat to any of his relations or servants; that M. de Noailles [1] should be summoned to appear in person at the bar of the *Parlement*, to give an account of the correspondence which he entertained with him, and that monitory letters [2] should be published, the better to discover what that correspondence was. This is an abstract of the conclusions conformably to which the decree was given.

You think without doubt the cardinal crushed by this last decree of the *Parlement*, considering that the king's council themselves had furnished all the materials towards his ruin. But you mistake, for at the same instant that that decree was agreed on and that people's passions were at the highest, a counsellor having said, that the troops which were assembling upon the frontiers for the service of Mazarin would make a jest of their decree, if it was not signified to them by men armed with good muskets and pikes; that counsellor I say, whose name I do not remember, but who spoke, as you see, pretty much to the purpose, was repulsed with a general outcry, as if he had said the most foolish thing in the world, the whole company crying out

[1] I find Noailles in the French copy, but I believe it should be Navailles.
[2] Letters from the spiritual judge to be read in all parish churches, admonishing those who are informed of the truth of any fact in question to declare it on oath, under pain of excommunication.

aloud that the king alone had a right to withdraw or to disband his own forces.

But I desire you to reconcile if you can that tender regard for the king's authority, with a decree that forbid at the same time all towns to give passage to one whom that authority would restore. What is most wonderful is that a thing that appears a prodigy to future ages, is not felt at the moment, and that those whom I have heard reason since upon this subject in the same manner I do, would have sworn at that time that there was nothing contradictory between the decree and the restriction. What I have seen during our troubles has explained to me in more than one occasion, what I could not before comprehend in history. You find there some facts so opposite to one another that they become incredible; but experience teaches us that all that appears incredible is not false. You will still find this truth better supported by what passed after this in the *Parlement*, which I intend to come to, after I have mentioned some circumstances that relate to the court.

There was some contest there in the cabinet council about the manner in which the queen was to act in respect to the *Parlement;* some said that she ought to manage that company carefully, and others that it would be best to abandon them to themselves; these were the words which Brachet used, speaking to the queen. They had been inspired and dictated to him by Mainardeau-Champré, a counsellor of the grand chamber, and a man of good sense. He had charged Brachet to tell the queen from him, that the best way that she could take was to let everything at Paris run into confusion, it being always a means to restore the royal authority, when once that confusion is arrived to a certain pitch: that to this effect she ought to order the first president to come to court and execute there his office of lord-keeper; to do the like to M. de la Vieuville, and to all those that were under him, in his post of the finances; and to cause likewise the grand council, etc., to come to the court. This advice, which was grounded upon the disappointments which an action of this nature would produce, in a city where it cannot be disowned but that all the several establishments are linked in a very strict manner together, was opposed with a great deal of force by all those who were afraid that the cardinal's enemies would make use against him of the weakness of the President le Bailleul, who by the first president's absence would be left at the head of the *Parlement*, and of the animosity of the people which such an action would serve only to increase. The cardinal was a long

while in suspence about the reasons that supported these two opinions; though the queen, who by her inclination was always led to think the most violent the best, had already declared for the first. What determined him, as I have learnt since of the Marshal de la Ferté, was what M. de Senneterre wrote to him in very strong terms, in favour of the first opinion, and his frightening him with the first president's manner of speaking in the *Parlement*, which was often very bold, and did sometimes, added Senneterre, more harm than his good intentions could do good: but that was saying too much by far. The first president at last left Paris by the king's order, even without taking his leave of the *Parlement*, which he did by the advice of M. de Champlâtreux, pretty much against his inclination. M. de Champlâtreux was in the right, because he might certainly have run some risk in the commotion which such a step might have occasioned. I went to take my leave of him the day before he left Paris, and he said these very words to me: "I am going to court and shall there speak the truth; after which the king must be obeyed." I am persuaded that he really was as good as his word. I return to the *Parlement*.

Upon December 29 the king's council came to the grand chamber and presented to the company a *lettre de cachet* from the king, which injoined them to delay the sending the deputies who had been named in the decree of the 13th to go to his majesty, because he had more than sufficiently explained his intentions to them formerly. M. Talon added that he was obliged by the duty of his place to represent to them the commotion which such a deputation might cause in a time so full of troubles. "You see," continued he, "the whole kingdom in motion, and we have here a letter from the *Parlement* of Roüen, which informs us that they have put out a decree against Cardinal Mazarin, in conformity to yours of the 13th."

The Duke of Orleans spoke next. He said that Cardinal Mazarin had arrived at Sedan on the 25th, that the Marshals d'Hocquincourt and de la Ferté were going to join him with an army, in order to bring him to court; and that it was time to oppose his designs, of which there was no longer any room to doubt. I cannot express to what degree people's minds were moved. They would hardly stay till the king's council had taken their conclusions, which were to send incessantly their deputies to the king, and to declare from this moment Cardinal Mazarin and his adherents guilty of high treason; to enjoin the commons to fall upon them; to forbid the mayors and magistrates of towns

to give them passage; to sell his library and all his household goods. The decree added to these conclusions, that the sum of 150,000 livres should be taken preferably, out of the sale, to be given to the man who should bring the cardinal dead or alive. At the mentioning of this all the ecclesiasticks rose up for the reason which I have already mentioned.

No doubt but you think affairs very much exasperated, and you will still be the more persuaded of it, when I have told you that upon January 2, 1652, a second decree came out upon the conclusions of the king's council, and upon advice that the cardinal had already passed Epernay, by which it was further ordered, that all the other *Parlements* should be desired to give a like decree to that of Paris of December 29; that two more deputies should be sent with the four already named, to the passages, with an order to arm the commons; that the Duke of Orleans's forces should be commanded to oppose the march of the cardinal, and that orders should be sent for their subsistance. Is it not true that after these conclusions and this edict, it was likely that the *Parlement* was for a war? Nothing like it. A counsellor having said that the first step for the subsisting the troops, was the having of money, which he proposed to take out of that part of the escheats that related to the annual duty, he was repulsed with indignation and outcries; and the same company that had just before ordered the march of the Duke of Orleans's troops, in order to oppose those of the king's, treated the proposals of touching the king's money with the same scruple of conscience, as they would have done in a time of the greatest tranquility. I said to the duke at our coming away, that he might see that I had not deceived him when I had assured him so often, that a civil war could be but ill managed with the conclusions of the king's council.

He had another opportunity of being convinced of it the next day; for the *Parlement* being assembled, and the Marquis de Sablonnières, colonel of the regiment of Valois, coming in to him and telling him that du Coudray-Geniers, one of those named to arm the commons, had been killed, and that Bitaut, who was the other, had been taken prisoner by the enemies, the commotion was such in the company, that it could not have been greater or more general, if the fact had been some horrible and detestable murder, committed with premeditated malice, in a time of perfect tranquility. I remember that Bachaumont, who sat that day behind me, whispered me these words in the ear by way of raillery against his brother-counsellors: "I am going

to gain a mighty reputation, for my opinion shall be to have M. d'Hocquincourt hanged and quartered for having been so insolent as to fall upon persons that are arming the commons against him."

The passion which the company shewed at this prevarication of M. d'Hocquincourt's, against which they made a decree in form, was in my opinion the cause of their not refusing audience to a gentleman sent by the Prince of Condé, with a letter and a petition to them; for I can find no other reason for it, after having registered the king's declaration against the prince; when this same *Parlement* had refused to receive a letter and a remonstrance, sent to them from that prince upon December 2, which was a time when there were as yet no formal proceedings begun in the *Parlement* against him. Upon the 11th in the evening, being with M. Talon, I made him observe this circumstance; and he, who had himself in his conclusions been for the receiving the letter, made me this answer: "We no longer know what we are doing; we are out of the beaten road." That gentleman however insisted in his conclusions, that they ought not to touch the king's money, which he affirmed to be sacred, whatever should happen. Judge, I beseech you, how that could agree with the conclusions taken by him two or three days before, whereby he was for arming the commons and for ordering the duke's troops to march and oppose those of the king. I have wondered a thousand times at the want of sense of those wretched gazetteers that have written the history of those times. I have not met with any one that has so much as made the least reflection upon those contradictions, which are however the things that best deserve to be mentioned and observed. I was at a loss even at that time in what I observed in M. Talon's conduct, that gentleman being certainly one of a resolute mind and of a solid judgment, which made me sometimes believe that what he did was affected. But I remember that I lost that opinion, after I had well considered of it; and that I had sufficient reasons (the particulars of which are now out of my memory) to be persuaded that he was, like the rest, carried away by the stream, which in this sort of times ebbs and flows with a violence that agitates men in such an opposite manner.

This is exactly what happened to M. Talon, in the deliberation of which I am now speaking; for after his having concluded to give entrance to the prince's gentleman, and to have the prince's letter and petition read, he added that both ought to be sent to the king, and that the company ought not to deliberate upon it

till they had an answer from his majesty. The prince's letter to the *Parlement* was only an offer which he made to the company of his person and of his forces, against the common enemy; and his petition tended towards having the execution of the declaration against him, which had been registered, put off till the declarations and decrees given against the cardinal had had their full and intire effect.

They could not put an end to the deliberation that day, though they had been upon it till three in the afternoon. It was made an end of the next day, and a decree was given, whereby it was ordered that M. d'Hocquincourt should be required to set Messieurs Bitaut and Geniers at liberty, this last not being killed as it had been reported, but having only been made a prisoner with the other; and that in case of a refusal M. d'Hocquincourt and all his posterity should be made answerable for what might happen to them; that the declaration and decrees given against the cardinal should be executed; that all his majesty's subjects should be forbidden to acknowledge the Marshal d'Hocquincourt and others who assisted the cardinal as commanders of the king's forces; and that a stop should be put to the execution of the declaration and decrees given against the Prince of Condé, till the declaration and decrees against the cardinal should be intirely executed.

What passed at the *Parlement* on January 16 and 19 is of no moment. M. de Nemours arrived at Paris on the 19th in the evening, coming from Bordeaux, and designing to go into Flanders, to bring from thence some forces which the Spaniards had promised the prince. It is necessary to take up a little the particulars relating to this journey of M. de Nemours, which occasioned much jealousy to the Duke of Orleans.

I believe that I have already told you, that the duke was five or six times in a day cruelly embarrassed, being persuaded that everything went at random, and that it was even impossible to remedy it. There were instants in which he was inspired with that sort of courage that proceeds from despair, and it was in these instants that he used to say that the worst that could happen to him would be to live in quiet at Blois. But the dutchess, who did not like that kind of quiet for him, often troubled the agreeable ideas which he was forming to himself of it, and consequently often gave him apprehensions of the inconveniencies, which he naturally feared already but too much. The state in which affairs were, did not help to hearten him, for besides his fancying himself always upon the borders of

precipices, the steps which he really was obliged to take and follow, were of a nature that might cause the most stout and resolute to stumble. The transactions that passed upon Maundy Thursday could not get out of his mind; and as he feared besides extremely to be under the dependance of the prince, which he looked upon as infallible if he should unite intirely with him, he lived in such a constraint that he was forced ten times a day to change his most natural steps, and at the time when he was in hopes that the cardinal's return might be still traversed by some other means than a civil war, he had used himself so much to preserve the regards proper to such a disposition, that when he was obliged to change his measures, his conduct became irregular, and altogether like that of the *Parlement.*

You have already seen more than once that that company, in the same sitting, ordered the marching of forces, and would not allow those forces the means to subsist; that they armed the people against forces, who had their commissions and orders in due form from the king, and opposed at the same time with a mighty noise, those who proposed the disbanding of these forces; that they injoined the commons to fall upon the generals of the king's army that assisted Mazarin, and forbad at the same instant upon pain of death, to make any levies without an express commission from his majesty. The duke, who imagined that by remaining united to the *Parlement,* he should oppose Mazarin independently of the prince, gave way, by this union, still more easily to his natural inclination, in which he was already but too much helped by his irresolution. That inclination led him, as I have already said, to keep the balance even on both sides, whenever he found any room to do it. This medium to which he was before inclined, became necessary by his union with a company whose steps were always grounded upon the maxim of reconciling the royal ordinances with a civil war. This ridicule is in some manner hid in respect to the *Parlement,* by reason of the majesty of that great body, which is looked upon by most people as infallible. But it always discovers itself very soon in private persons, of what rank soever, let them even be princes of the blood, or sons of France. It is what I was saying every day to the duke, who agreed to it, but had always the same answer in readiness, which was: "What better steps can be taken?" I believe that he repeated that saying above fifty times in a conversation which I had with him the day that M. de Nemours arrived at Paris. The duke expressing a great

deal of trouble about the forces which he was going to fetch out of Flanders, for fear they should make the Prince of Condé too strong, and adding, that that prince afterwards would make use of them to serve his own turn, I told him that I was excessively sorry to see him in a state wherein nothing could bring him comfort, and everything was able to, and must, afflict him. "If the prince is beaten," added I, "what will you do with the *Parlement*, considering that that company would not move one step without the conclusions of the king's council, even in case that the cardinal was with an army at the door of the grand chamber? What will you do if the prince is victorious, when you stand already in fear of 4000 men that they are fetching to join him?"

Though I should have been very sorry, both by reason of the ingagement I was in with the queen upon that subject, and likewise upon account of my private interest, that the duke should have united intimately with the prince, which he could not do without submitting shamefully to him, I should have been glad however that his weakness should not have filled him with that envy and fear which he showed on his account, because it seemed to me that mediums might have been found to make the prince serviceable to his ends, without giving him all the advantages which he was afraid of. I own that those mediums had in them a great deal of difficulty, and consequently that it was impossible for the duke to make use of them, considering that he never made any difference between things difficult and things impossible. It is incredible to think what pains I took to persuade him that prudence required of him to do his best to prevent *Parlement* from declaring against these auxiliary troops that were to come to the prince. I represented to him with vigour, all the reasons that obliged him not to deprive the prince of that assistance, in the present posture of affairs, and not to accustom the company to condemn the steps that were taking against Mazarin. I agreed with him that it was necessary to blame in publick the union with the Spaniards, that there might appear no alteration in his conduct; but I maintained that he ought at the same time to elude the deliberations which the company would make upon that subject; and I proposed to him the means to do it, which by the diversions that would naturally offer of themselves, and by the weakness of the President le Bailleul, could hardly have been perceived. The duke remained for a long time resolved to let the thing take its course, because, added he, the prince is already but too strong; and

after I had convinced him with my reasons, he did all that weak men never fail to do in like occasions. They turn so sharply when they change their opinion, that they cease to measure their steps, and run instead of walking. The duke accordingly, whatever I could say to the contrary, resolved suddenly upon justifying the march of these foreign troops, and upon justifying it in the *Parlement* by illusory arguments that deceive nobody, but serve only to shew the intention one has to deceive. This sort of fallacy has been in use at all times, but it must be owned that in the time of Cardinal Mazarin it has been studied and practised more frequently and more insolently than in any other. It has not only been daily made use of in common affairs, but it has triumphed in publick edicts, decrees, and declarations; and I am persuaded that this publick outrage done to probity has been, as I believe I have already said in the first part of these memoirs, the chief cause of our revolutions. The duke told me at the *Parlement*, that these forces ought not to be reckoned as Spanish, because they were made up of Germans. You must observe that they had been for three or four years in the service of Spain in Flanders, under the command of a prince of the house of Wirtemberg, who was paid by his Catholick majesty, and that many persons of quality of the Low Countries were even officers under him. I represented in vain to the duke, that what we were daily blaming the most in the cardinal's conduct, was this manner of speaking and of acting so opposite to the most known truths. He laughed at my scruple, and answered me, that I might have observed that the world desires to be deceived. This saying is true, and was verified on this occasion.

I beg leave of you to stop here for a moment, to make this observation; that one ought not to wonder if historians, who treat of matters with which they have had nothing to do, mistake so often, when it is impossible for men who have been nearest to the facts not to mistake likewise, in an infinity of occasions, meer appearances, sometimes false in every circumstance, for the real truth. There was not a man, not only in the *Parlement*, but even in the duke's palace, who did not believe at that time that my only business with the duke was to break the measures which the prince kept with him. I should certainly have done my best to break these measures, if I had so much as perceived the least disposition in the duke to enter into any with the prince, that had been solid and essential. But I can assure you that he was so backward, even to those which the present state of affairs and common prudence obliged him to hearken to, that

I was forced to labour hard in order to persuade him to preserve these last measures with some sort of decency, at the same time that all the world imagined that I was doing quite the contrary. I was not sorry however for the report spread about it by the prince's partisans, though these reports cost me now and then some rebukes which I received in delivering my opinion in the assembly of the chambers. I undertook at first to turn these rebukes to my advantage, in keeping the queen in good humour with me. But she was not long deceived by it; and having been informed, that though I kept strictly to the word I had given her, not to come to any accommodation with the prince, I advised the duke however not to break with him, she caused Brachet, who came to Paris at that time, to reproach me with it. I got him to write a memorial which I dictated to him, that made it clearly appear that I had not been wanting in any one thing of what I promised her; which was true, because I promised her nothing that was contrary to what I had advised the duke. Brachet told me at his coming back, that the queen was convinced of it, after having examined my reasons at his persuasion; but that M. de Châteauneuf had exclaimed at them, and spoke these very words to the queen: "I am not, madam, no more than the coadjutor, for recalling the cardinal; but it is so criminal in a subject to indite a memorial like this, which I have seen, that were I his judge, I would upon this single point immediately condemn him." The queen was so kind as to command Brachet to relate these particulars to me, and to tell me that the cardinal would be more true to me than that wretch, though I gave him no occasion: these were her words. I return to the *Parlement*.

What passed there from the 12th to the 24th of January 1652, is not worthy of your attention, nothing else almost having been spoken of but the affair of Messieurs Bitaut and Geniers, which was treated all the while as if it had been an assassination committed in cold blood next to the *Parlement* hall.

Upon the 24th the President de Bellièvre, and the other deputies who had been at Poitiers, reported the remonstrances which they had made to the king, with all the force and vehemence imaginable, in the name of the company, against the return of the cardinal. They said that his majesty, after advising with the queen and his council, had caused the lord-keeper to answer to them in his presence, that when the *Parlement* had given their last decrees, they were not apprized that Cardinal Mazarin had not made any levies of forces but by the express command of

his majesty; that he had the king's orders to enter into France, and to bring these forces along with him; that the king therefore took not ill what the company had hitherto done; but that he made likewise no doubt that when they had learnt these particulars, and were further informed that Cardinal Mazarin required only the means of clearing himself, they would give an example to all his subjects of the obedience which they owed him. I leave you to judge of the commotion which an answer so little conformable to the solemn promises which the queen had repeated above ten times, must cause in the *Parlement*. The Duke of Orleans did not appease it, by saying that the king had sent Ruvigny to speak to him in the like manner, and to order him to send to their garrisons the regiments that went under his name. The heat was still increased by the decrees of the *Parlements* of Toulouze and of Rouen, which were affectedly read at that instant, as well as a letter of the *Parlement* of Britanny, whereby that company desired an union with that of Paris, against the violences of the Marshal de la Meilleraie. M. Talon spoke against the cardinal with a vehemence that had something of rage in it. He thundered against the Marshal de la Meilleraie, in behalf of the *Parlement* of Rennes; but his conclusions went no further than to remonstrances against the return of the first, and to informations against the disorders committed by the Marshal d'Hocquincourt's forces. The heat evaporated in words, the clock struck twelve, and the deliberation was put off to the next day. It produced a decree conformable to M. Talon's conclusions, with this addition only, made chiefly in view of the Marshal de la Meilleraie, that they should not proceed in the *Parlement* to the reception of any dukes and peers, nor of marshals of France, till the cardinal was out of the kingdom.

An accident happened by meer chance in this sitting, which was looked upon as a mighty mystery. The Marshal d'Estampes in delivering his opinion, having said without any design, that the *Parlement* ought to unite with the duke for the expelling the common enemy, some counsellors supported this opinion, without meaning any hurt, and others were against it, moved to it merely by that spirit which, as I have somewhere told you, is opposed to all that is, or appears concerted in these sorts of companies. The President de Novion, who was entirely reconciled with the court, took hold very artfully of this conjuncture to serve the queen; and judging very rightly that the person of the Marshal d'Estampes, who was of the duke's family, gave

him room to insinuate that there was a design, in what had been certainly spoken without any premeditation, he exclaimed with the President de Mesme against the word union, as against the thing in the world the most criminal. He inlarged in an eloquent manner upon the injury done to the *Parlement*, in thinking that company capable of an union which would infallibly cause a civil war. The minds and hearts of most persons became of a sudden passionate for the royal authority. Clamorous speeches were made against the proposal of the poor Marshal d'Estampes, which was rejected with horror, as if the like had not been proposed perhaps above fifty times by thirty counsellors within six weeks; as if the *Parlement* had not returned thanks to the duke in all their sittings, for the obstacles he put to the cardinal's return; and, in short, as if the king's council themselves in their conclusions had not been in two or three different manners, for praying the duke to cause his troops to march for that effect. This is a confirmation of what I have already told you, that nothing is more like the people than these companies.

The Duke of Orleans, who was present at that scene, was struck down with it, and it was this that determined him to join his forces to those of the prince. He had for a long time kept him in hopes that he would do it, both because he had not the courage to refuse them to the prince, and because M. de Beaufort, who was personally interested in the thing, being to command these forces, pressed him to the last degree about it. But the duke confessed to me that evening, that it was with a great deal of difficulty that he resolved upon it, but that finding nothing good to be hoped for from the *Parlement*, which was like to undo itself and to undo all those who were joined to it, it was not fit to suffer the Prince of Condé to be ruined; and he was very near proposing to me that I should come to an accommodation with him. He was however prevented from coming so far, either by reflecting on my engagements, that were not unknown to him; or because his fear of falling into the prince's dependency (and this was what appeared to me) worked stronger still upon him, than that which this disappointment of the *Parlement* had put him into. You will see the sequel of this, after I have given you an account of what was passing at court at that time.

I have, I believe, already told you that M. de Châteauneuf had at last taken the resolution to speak plainly his mind to the queen, and to declare against Cardinal Mazarin's return. This he did, in my opinion, without any hopes of success, and with

the only view of gaining by it a merit with the publick for his retreat, which he looked upon as unavoidable, being very willing to make at least the people believe that it was the consequence and the effect of the force with which he had opposed Mazarin's return. He asked leave to retire, which was granted him.

Cardinal Mazarin arrived at court, and I leave you to judge in what manner he was received there. He found there M. le Tellier, who had been already recalled by Messieurs de Châteauneuf and de Villeroy, for a certain reason which was made a mystery of at that time, and the particulars of which I cannot remember. The cardinal determined the king to go towards Saumur, though a great many advised him to march into Guienne, to make an end of pushing the prince. He thought it best to begin with M. de Rohan,[1] who being governor of Angers, had, with the town and castle, declared for the prince. Angers being besieged by the Marshals de la Meilleraie and d'Hocquincourt, held out but a very little time, and cost but few men. The Pont de Cé, wherein Beauvau commanded for the prince, surrendered immediately, and almost without any resistance, to Messieurs de Noailles and de Broglie. The king left Saumur, and went to Tours, where the Archbishop of Rouen[2] laid the first foundation of the favour he was afterwards in, by complaining to the king, in the name of the bishops that were at court, of the decrees given in the *Parlement* against Cardinal Mazarin. Their majesties came afterwards to Blois, where M. Servien joined them. The Marshal d'Hocquincourt came near that town with his army, which committed incredible disorders for want of pay. We shall see what progress this army made, after I have given you an account of what was passing at Paris.

[1] Henry Chabot de St. Aulaie, Duke de Rohan, peer of France, and governor of Anjou, who was much blamed by both parties for his behaviour at Angers.

[2] Francis Harlay de Chanvallon, Archbishop of Rouen, and afterwards of Paris.

PART VII

I AM persuaded that I should tire you if I should enter into the detail of what was transacted in the assemblies of the chambers, from January 25 to February 15. There was but one sitting, or two at most, that were employed wholly in giving out decrees for restoring the funds that were appointed for the payment of the Hôtel de Ville *rentes*, which the court, according to its laudable custom, withdrew one day to put things into confusion in Paris, and restored the next, for fear that that confusion should become too great. The most considerable thing that passed in the *Parlement* at that time, was a decree given by the grand chamber, upon February 8, at the request of the attorney-general, whereby any person without exception was forbidden to levy any forces without the king's commission. I leave you to judge how well this could agree with seven or eight of their decrees which I have mentioned before.

Upon February 15 the *Parlement* and the city received two *lettres de cachet*, wherein the king acquainted them with M. de Rohan's rebellion, and with the march of the Spanish forces led by M. de Nemours, of which the letters shewed the inconveniencies, exhorting them to be loyal to the king. After the letters were read, the duke spoke and represented that M. de Rohan had made himself master of the town and castle of Angers, only to execute the decrees of the company that ordered all governors of places to oppose the enterprizes of the cardinal; that Boisleur, lieutenant-governor of Angers, and a zealous partisan of Mazarin's, had formed a design upon that place which M. de Rohan had been obliged to prevent, and even to secure that gentleman; that he could not conceive how the things that were transacting daily in the *Parlement* could be reconciled; that they had given in a full assembly of the chambers seven or eight decrees one upon another, which enjoined governors of provinces and of towns to declare against the cardinal; and that but two days ago the chamber of Tournelle, at the request of the Bishop of Angers, brother to Boisleur, had put out a decree against the Duke of Rohan, whose only guilt was the executing those given in a full assembly of the chambers; that the grand chamber had but few days ago put out one to forbid the levying forces without the king's commission, than which nothing could be

more contrary to the request made to him several times by the whole body of the *Parlement*, praying him to employ all his forces for the expelling of the cardinal; that he thought himself likewise obliged to inform the company that all the decrees which they had put out, had not yet been sent, neither to the several precincts nor to the other *Parlements*, as it had been ordered. The duke added, that M. d'Anville was come to him from the king, and had brought him *carte blanche* to oblige him to give his consent to the re-establishment of the cardinal; but that nothing in the world could ever bring him to it, or to disunite in opinion from the *Parlement*, etc.

The Presidents de Bailleul and de Novion maintained stoutly, that the decrees of the grand chamber, and of the chamber of Tournelle, of which the duke complained, were legal, the number of judges that are required for putting out decrees in these chambers being compleat. This reason, as impertinent as it will appear to you, considering the subject, satisfied most of the old counsellors, drowned in, or rather swallowed up by their forms of law. The young counsellors, inflamed by the duke, rose up and forced the President le Bailleul to put the thing to the vote. M. Talon, the advocate-general, avoided very artfully to give his conclusions upon the two decrees of the grand chamber and of the Tournelle, by turning his discourse, to the great content of the company, against the Bishop of Avranches, a man odious both for his infamous life, and for his lavish attachment to the cardinal. This gave him an opportunity of making himself merry at the non-residence of bishops, against which he really obtained a cutting decree; and his conclusions were, that all mayors and magistrates, as well as governors of towns, should be forbid to give passage to the Spanish forces, led by M. de Nemours.

It was at that instant that the duke executed what he had projected before, as I have already told you, and that he went even beyond what he had at first resolved. He maintained that he had taken these forces into his pay, and that they were not Spaniards. His speech, which he extended to a pretty great length, took up some time; the clock struck twelve, and the assembly was put off to the next day, which was the 16th. But there was no assembly on that day, the duke having sent in the morning to excuse himself, upon pretence of a fit of the cholick. The true reason for this delay was this.

The last disappointment of the *Parlement* had embarrassed the duke beyond what I am able to express; and I believe that

in less than two days' time, I had heard him repeat a hundred times the following words: "It is a cruel thing to find oneself in a condition where it is impossible for one to act right. I had never considered of it before; but I experience it and feel it." His agitation, which, like a fever, had fits, some less, some more violent, was never greater than on the day that he commanded M. de Beaufort, or rather gave him leave, to put his troops upon action. And as I was representing to him that after the many declarations which he had made both in the *Parlement* and everywhere else against Mazarin, it appeared to me that the step of causing his troops to move against him was not so great an addition to the dislike which he had already given to the court, that he needed to apprehend it so much: he answered me these memorable words, on which I have reflected a thousand times: "If you were born a son of France, an infant of Spain, a king of Hungary, or a prince of Wales, you would not speak as you do. Know that we princes reckon words for nothing, but that we never forget actions. The queen would not remember to-morrow at noon my declaiming against the cardinal, if I would bear with him to-morrow morning. If my forces fire a single musket, she will not forgive it me these 2000 years, let me act never so well to please her." The general conclusion which I drew from this discourse, was that the duke was persuaded that all princes had the like sentiments upon certain matters; and the particular one was, that the duke was not so much exasperated at the cardinal, as to reject all thoughts of being reconciled to him, in case of need. And yet a quarter of an hour after the pronouncing these sententious words, he appeared to me further than ever from it. For M. Danville coming into his library room, where I was alone with him, and having pressed him very much in the queen's name, and by her order, to give him his word not to join his forces with those of M. de Nemours that were advancing, the duke remained inflexible in his resolution, and spoke even upon that subject with a great deal of good sense, and with all the sentiments that a son of France, who finds himself forced by the circumstances of affairs to an action of that nature may, and ought to preserve, at that unfortunate time. You have here an abstract of what he said:

"That he was not ignorant that the part which he acted on this occasion was the most uneasy in the world, considering that he could gain nothing by it, and that it took away from him beforehand all manner of quiet and satisfaction: that he was well

enough known to give no room to suspect that what he did was the effect of ambition: neither could it be attributed to hatred, to which passion he was known never to have been inclined against any one: that he was forced into it by the meer necessity in which he had found himself, not to suffer the state to perish in the hands of a minister unable to govern, and abhorred by all the world: that he had indeed supported him during the siege of Paris, but that he did it against his conscience, and in regard only to the queen; that he had likewise sided with him, though with the same scruple of conscience, and out of the same regard, during the whole course of the civil war in Guienne: that his lamentable conduct there for a while, and the use which he would afterwards have made of the advantages, obtained by his (the duke's) means, against the duke himself, had forced him to think of his own safety, and that he confessed, though to his shame, that God had made use of that motive to oblige him to follow the way which his duty had been for so long pointing out to him.

"That he had not followed that way in a factious manner, by settling himself upon the frontiers, and calling there upon foreign aid. That he had joined only with the *Parlements*, which are beyond comparison more interested than any one in the preservation of the state. That God had blessed his good intentions, chiefly in permitting the expulsion of that bad minister without the shedding of blood, or any other harm done: that the king had granted to the tears of his people that piece of justice, more necessary still for his service than for the satisfaction of his subjects; that all the corporate bodies of the kingdom, without excepting one, had expressed their joy by decrees, by thanksgivings, by bonfires, and other publick rejoicings: that when we were upon the point of seeing union restored in the royal family, which would have repaired in a trice the advantages obtained over us, occasioned by our divisions, the evil genius of France had again brought this wicked minister upon the stage, to renew the confusion everywhere.

"That this was the most dangerous sort of confusion which we had as yet fallen into, because those who had the best intentions in the world, and the most remote from any private interest, were those that could the least remedy it: that in most other disorders which had hitherto befallen the state, people might have expected an end of them by satisfying at last the desire of those whose ambition had occasioned them, so that what had been for the most part the cause of the evil, had however proved

most commonly a remedy to it: that our present symptom was of another nature; that we were fallen into it by a general commotion of the whole political body, which made it impracticable for any of the members to help their own private case, there being no other remedy left than the expelling the venom which had infected the whole body: that the *Parlements* were so far engaged in it, that supposing that he, jointly with the prince, should be willing to desist, they could not persuade the like to these companies: but that they were so far from desisting, and so much obliged for their own safety to pursue the expulsion, that they would both declare against the *Parlements* if these bodies should happen to change." "Would you advise me, Brion," said the Duke of Orleans, (for so he used to call the Duke d'Anville, who bore that name when he was the Duke of Orleans's first gentleman of the horse) "would you advise me, after what has passed, to trust to Mazarin's word? Would you advise the prince to do it? But supposing we could trust him, do you believe that the queen ought to hesitate to give us the satisfaction which all France, or rather all Europe, are asking her jointly with us? Nobody has a greater feeling than I of the deplorable condition which I see the kingdom in, and I cannot without trembling see the Spanish colours displayed, when I consider that they are upon the point of joining those of Condé, and those of Vallois. But is not the present case, in respect to me, one of those that has given rise, with a great deal of reason, to the saying:

"That necessity has no law? And can I dispense with following a way by which only I can defend myself and all my friends against the queen's wrath, and against the vengeance of her minister? He has the royal authority wholly in his hands, he is master of all the towns, he hath all the veteran troops at his disposal, he shoves the prince to the furthest part of the kingdom, he threatens the *Parlement* of the capital city of the realm, he sues himself for the protection of Spain, and we know every particular of what he has promised as he came through the country of Liége, to Don Antonio Pimentel. What can I do in this conjuncture, or rather what is it I ought not to do, except I bring dishonour upon myself, and am willing to pass for the last, I do not say of princes, but of men? When I have suffered the prince to be crushed, when I have left the cardinal at liberty to subdue Guienne, when I see him at the gates of Paris with a victorious army, will people say the Duke of Orleans is to be commended for having sacrificed his person, the *Parlement*, and the city, to the revenge of Mazarin, rather than use the assistance

of the enemies of the crown? Will they not rather say the Duke of Orleans is a coward and a fool to entertain scruples, which even a Capuchin would reject if he was as far engaged as the Duke of Orleans is?"

The duke, in all likelihood, had gone further in his discourse, if he had not been told that the President de Bellièvre was in the bedchamber waiting for him. He left me in his library room with M. Danville, who took me to task in respect to my own concerns, with a force of argument worthy of the good sense of the house of Ventadour, to persuade me that I was obliged both by reason of the hatred which the prince bore to me, and by the engagements into which I was entered with the queen, to hinder the duke from joining his forces with those of M. de Nemours. This is exactly what I answered him, or rather what I dictated to him whilst he was writing it down in his table book, that he might at my request shew it both the queen and the cardinal:

"I have promised to come to no accommodation with the prince; I have declared that I could not abandon his royal highness, nor consequently forbear serving him in all that he should undertake for opposing the return of the cardinal. This is what I have told the queen in the presence of the duke; this is what I have told the duke in the queen's presence; and this is what I have faithfully done all along. The Count de Fiesque is every day assuring M. de Brissac, that the prince will give me *carte blanche* whenever I please; this I receive with all the respect which I owe the prince, but without making any answer to his offer. The duke commands me to give him my opinion of what he can do best, and to ground it upon his resolution of never consenting to the cardinal's return; I believe that I am obliged in honour and in conscience to tell his royal highness that he will give the cardinal all the advantage, except he forms a body of troops considerable enough to oppose his, and to make a diversion of those with which he oppresses the Prince of Condé. In short, I intreat you to tell the queen, that I do nothing but what I have always told her that I would do, and that she cannot have forgot what I have so often said to her, that there is not one man in the kingdom more sorry than I, to see things in a condition which not only gives leave to a subject, but even obliges him, to speak to his mistress in the manner I do."

This gave me an occasion to acquaint M. Danville with what

had formerly passed upon that subject, in the conversations which I had had with the queen. He was touched with it, because he was well affected and devoted to the king's person; and he was so much moved, chiefly at the effort which I told him I had made to let the queen know that it was wholly in her power to become absolute mistress of all our concerns, and of mine more than of any other; that that gentleman, out of affection to me, opened himself more than he had done, and said: "This wretch (meaning the cardinal) is going to ruin all; look to yourself, for he is bent upon hindring you from being a cardinal; this is all I can say to you." You will see by and by that I knew more upon that head than this gentleman.

As we were discoursing, M. Danville and I, in this manner, the duke came back to us, and leaning upon the President de Bellièvre, he acquainted M. Danville that the dutchess desired to speak with him; and sitting down after he was gone, he said to me: "I have informed M. de Bellièvre of what I have told M. Danville in your presence; but I must discover to you both a thing which it had been very improper for me to speak of to him. I am cruelly imbarrassed; for I perceive that the thing which I have maintained to him to be necessary, and which is so in effect, is however very bad, which I believe has never happened before in any other affair, except in this. I have been all night long reflecting on it; I have recalled to my memory the whole intrigue of the league, the faction of the Huguenots, the movements of the Prince of Orange; and I have found nothing in all of them so difficult as what I meet with at every hour, or rather at every instant." At this, he gathered up and inlarged upon all that you have seen hitherto scattered up and down these sheets upon this subject; and I likewise answered him all that you may have observed there of my sentiments. It being impossible to fix a conversation that runs wholly on uncertainties, the duke instead of answering me, answered himself; and what always happens in this case is, that he who does so never perceives it, which makes the conversation go on without an end. I intreated the duke for that reason to give me leave to set down in writing my sentiments on the state of things. I told him that I required but one hour to do it. To tell you the truth, I was not sorry to find at all events an opportunity of having what I had spoken to him occasionally, confirmed to him by the President de Bellièvre. The duke took me at my word; he went into the gallery, where an infinite number of persons were waiting for him, and I wrote upon the table in the

library, what you are going to read, of which I have still the original.

"I believe that the matter which is at present to be discussed, is not what his royal highness might or ought hitherto to have done; and I am even persuaded that it is inconvenient in great affairs, to repeat past matters, except only with an intent to refresh one's memory, in respect to the relation they may have to things to come. The duke has but four ways to follow, which are; either to come to an accommodation with the queen, that is, with Cardinal Mazarin; or to unite intimately with the prince; or to form a third party in the kingdom; or to remain in the state in which he is at present, that is, to hold a little with all sides; with the queen, by remaining united with the *Parlement*, who, at the same time that they are railing at the cardinal, preserve a regard for the king's authority, which breaks twice a day the prince's measures; with the prince, by joining his forces with those of M. de Nemours; with the *Parlement*, by speaking against Mazarin, and not using at the same time the authority given him by his birth and the love that the people of Paris have for him. Of these four ways, the first, which is to come to an accommodation with the cardinal, has always been excluded from all his royal highness's deliberations, because the duke has always gone upon this supposition, that it was against both his dignity and his safety. The second, which is to unite wholly and intirely with the prince, has not been admitted either by the duke, because he has been unwilling even to imagine that he could be capable of proposing to himself (these were the words which the duke used) to divide from the *Parlement*, and abandon himself by that means, both to the discretion of the prince, and to the wavering ways of M. de la Rochefoucauld.

"The third, which is to form a third party in the kingdom, has been rejected by his royal highness, both because it may be followed with consequences too dangerous for the state, and because it could only succeed by forcing the *Parlement* to follow a conduct opposite to the manner and forms of that company, which cannot be done but by means still more opposite to the inclination and maxims of the duke. The fourth, which is that which his royal highness follows at present, is the very thing which causes his present trouble and unquietness, because by holding a little with the other ways, it has almost all the inconveniencies of each, and has, properly speaking, not one advan-

tage of any of them. In obedience to his royal highness, I shall give my opinion upon these several ways. Though as to my private concerns I might find my advantage in the duke's reconcilement with the cardinal; and though on the other hand, I have declared myself so much against that minister, that my opinion upon anything that relates to him may, and even ought to be suspected, I do not hesitate to tell his royal highness, that he cannot without dishonouring himself, keep any medium upon that article, considering the disposition of all the *Parlements*, of all the towns, and of all the people; and that he can the less do it with any safety to himself, considering the present posture of affairs, the disposition of the Prince of Condé, etc. The reasons which support that opinion are so obvious, that I need not explain them. I intreat his royal highness not to command me to tell him my thoughts on the second way, which is that of uniting intirely with the prince; and that for two reasons, of which the first is, that the private engagements which I am entered into, even with his own consent, with the queen upon that subject, are a sufficient reason for him to believe that I might be moved by my private interest in delivering my opinion.

"My second reason for not meddling in this matter is, that I am convinced that if his royal highness was resolved to separate from the *Parlement*, the thing to be considered would not be in that case, whether he ought to unite with the prince, but what he ought to do to keep the prince submissive to him; and this submission from the prince to his royal highness is one of the chief reasons that has obliged me to propose to him a third party, upon which I must inlarge more than I have yet done, because it is necessary to speak of that third way jointly with the fourth way, which is the holding a little on all sides. The prince has taken steps towards Spain, which can never agree, except by miracle, with the practice of the *Parlement;* and he, or those of his party, are every day taking some towards the court, which agree still less with the present constitution of that body. His royal highness stands unmoved in his resolution of not dividing from it, which he would be obliged to do, should he unite intimately with a prince, who, on the one side by his negotiations, or at least by those of his dependants, with Mazarin, keeps that company in a continual jealousy, and who, on the other side, by his publick union with Spain, obliges them once or twice a day to declare openly against him. It happens that at the same time that the duke, for the reasons which I have mentioned, cannot unite with the prince, he finds himself obliged

however to prevent the prince's ruin, which would give the cardinal too much strength. Taking this for granted, there is no other choice left, but that of a third party, or that which his royal highness is following at this day. I think it therefore necessary, before I enter into the detail and explanation of a third party, to examine the inconveniencies and the advantages of the way which his royal highness is now in.

"The first advantage which I find in it, is its carrying with it an appearance of prudence, which is always advantagious, because prudence is a virtue on which the generality of mankind is less able to distinguish exactly, than in any other, what is real from what is only specious. The second, is that this way not being decisive, it leaves, or seems to leave, his royal highness always at liberty to make a new choice, whenever he meets with anything that suits his conveniency. The third advantage is, that so long as his royal highness follows this way, he will not renounce his right of being a mediator, which he naturally has by his birth, and which alone may offer him an opportunity of retrieving with advantage, if he takes hold of it, all the disagreeable steps which he has already taken, or may for the future be obliged to take, in relation to the court. These, in my opinion, are the three sorts of advantages which are to be found in the way which his royal highness is now following. Let us now examine the inconveniencies, which are so many that I can hardly distinguish them all. I will therefore stick only to that which is capital, because it embraces all the rest.

"His royal highness, by preserving a regard for the court, which, properly speaking, is the strengthening of Mazarin, with whom alone he refuses to be reconciled, offends the other parties enough in all appearance to cause the ruin, not only of his own, but of these other parties; and certainly he offends that of the prince to a degree that will oblige those of that party to come to an accommodation with the court, considering how specious a pretence his royal highness is giving the prince for that accommodation, by assisting every day at the deliberations of a company that condemns his taking up arms, and registers without any hesitation the declarations given against him. His royal highness sees the importance of this inconvenience, and feels the weight of it, more than anybody else; but he believes, at least at certain instants, that the guaranty of the *Parlement*, and of the city of Paris, is able at all events to guard and to secure him, which is the thing that I have all along taken the liberty to contest with him, with all the respect due to his high

birth, because it is impossible but that the *Parlement* by continuing to stick close to their forms, must fall to nothing at the end of a civil war, and that the city, which his royal highness leaves, according to its usual course, attached to the *Parlement*, must run the same fortune with that company, because it must follow the same steps. These steps are properly what will, in spite of all France and even of all Europe, restore the cardinal, as they have already brought him back into the kingdom. He hath lately passed through a great part of it with four or five thousand adventurers, notwithstanding the troops of his royal highness, which are considerable, and at least as good and as well trained up to war, as those which have brought this minister to Poitiers; notwithstanding that most of the *Parlements* have declared against him; notwithstanding that there is scarce any great town in the kingdom on which the court can reckon; notwithstanding that all the people are inraged at him.

"This appears prodigious, and yet is not so at the bottom; for there is nothing more natural, considering that the *Parlement* of Paris is contented with the decrees issued out from that company, which by forbidding all manner of levies, and the seizing on the king's money, favour much more the cardinal, than the declaring him criminal can hurt him; considering that the great towns, whose natural motion is to follow that of the *Parlement*, are acting exactly in the same manner that company does; considering in short, that his royal highness's forces can only move by means which, in respect to his royal highness's regard for the *Parlement*, have a very great affinity with the measures of that company, which daily declares against their moving. It appears to foreigners that his royal highness leads the *Parlement*, because that company declaims as he does against the cardinal. The truth is, that it is the *Parlement* which leads his royal highness, because those of that company are apprized that his royal highness makes but a very slender use of the means he has in hand to hurt the cardinal.

"The fear of displeasing that company is one of the causes that has hindered him from putting his troops in action, and from applying himself, as much as he had it in his power to do, to the levying new ones. The same politicks will require of him to make up for the joining of these forces with M. de Nemours's army, with the compliance and even the approbation which his presence will give, to all the deliberations which will be taken, even with the greatest heat imaginable, against their march. In that manner he will offend the queen, he will

exasperate the cardinal, and that, without satisfying the prince, or contenting the Frondeurs. All these views will trouble him still more than anything he has hitherto done, because the objects which will occasion them, will magnify at each instant, and the catastrophe of the play will be the return of a man whose ruin is thought so easy, that his re-establishment cannot but appear extremely shameful. I have taken the liberty to propose to his royal highness a remedy to these inconveniencies, which I shall again mention in this place, that I may not fail in anything which he has commanded me to deduce. He has done me the honour to tell me several times, that the greatest obstacle to his coming to a final resolution, which he owns to be necessary if it be possible, is that he cannot do it of himself without falling out with the *Parlement*, because that company can never come to any such resolution, by reason of their being so much attached to their forms, and that they can much less do it in what relates to the prince than in any other thing, both for that reason, and for their just diffidence of the several cabals which not only compose, but which divide that party. These two views are certainly very judicious and very prudent, and it was from the like consideration that I had proposed to his royal highness a way which appeared to me to be almost a sure remedy to these two inconveniencies which are certainly very great and dangerous.

"That way was, that his royal highness should form a third party, composed of the *Parlements* and of the great cities of the kingdom; independent of, and even divided by publick declarations, from foreigners and from the Prince of Condé himself, by reason of his conjunction with them. The proper expedient in my opinion to bring this about, was that his royal highness should in a full assembly of the chambers explain his intentions clearly and fully, by saying to the company, that the regard which he had all along preserved for them, had obliged him to act contrary to his views, his safety, and his reputation; that he commended their good intentions, but that he desired them to consider that the ambiguity which it caused in their conduct, would destroy the good intentions with which the whole kingdom conspired against Cardinal Mazarin. That that minister, who was an object of horror to all the people, laughed at their wrath with 4000 or 5000 men only, who had carried him triumphantly to court, because the *Parlement* was every day giving out decrees in his favour, at the time that the company railed against him the most bitterly; that his royal highness, in compliance

to their body, had preserved some measures which had conduced to the like effects; that finding the evil to encrease, he could delay no longer to seek out for remedies; that he met with enough, but that he was very glad to concert them with the company, whose members ought on their side to come to a good resolution, and to fix themselves once for all upon some effectual means of expelling Mazarin, having judged so many times his expulsion necessary for the service of his majesty; that the only means to come to that end, was to manage well the war, for which effect they must divest themselves of their scruples; that for his part, the only scruple he intended to preserve for the future was in respect to the enemies of that state, with whom he declared that he would have neither union nor correspondence; that he looked upon these sentiments to be the less commendable in him, because he knew his own strength, and that he had no need of their aid; that from this consideration, but more still from that of the evil which a conjunction with a foreign enemy is always able to cause to the crown, he neither approved of, nor concurred in anything that the prince had done in respect to that; but that, excepting that matter, he was resolved to do like him, and to observe no longer the measures which he had hitherto kept; he would raise both money and forces, he would put himself at the head of affairs, he would seize upon the king's money, and would treat as enemies those that should oppose it in any form or manner whatsoever.

"I was of opinion that his royal highness might add, that the company was not ignorant that the people of Paris being so well affected to him as they were, it was easier for him to execute what he proposed than to speak it, but that the regard he had for them made him willing to acquaint them with his resolution, before he carried it to the Hôtel de Ville, where he designed to declare his intentions that very afternoon, and to deliver commissions there at the same time. I intreat his royal highness to remember that when I proposed this way, I took the liberty to assure him upon my life, that this speech, joined to the circumstances which I proposed at the same time, which were to march to the *Parlement* accompanied with a good number of nobility, gentry, clergymen and people, would receive no manner of contradiction. I remember that I went still further, and told his royal highness that the *Parlement*, which would the first day come into this project only by surprize, would approve of it heartily the next. All companies are so made, and I have not seen one which in three or four days' time would not naturally

accustom themselves even to what they received at first only by constraint.

"I represented to his royal highness, that after having put his affairs upon that foot, he ought no longer to fear that the *Parlement* would forsake him; neither could he any longer fear to be sacrificed to the court by the negotiations of the several cabals of the prince, because those of the *Parlement*, who were of the court party, would be too nearly and personally interested with his royal highness, to suffer themselves to be penetrated into, and be made tools of; and because the prince himself would be so much in the dependance of his royal highness, that his chiefest care would be to have a special regard for him.

"For in my opinion there would have been no manner of room to fear that the prince should have come to an accommodation with the court, had his royal highness followed that way, considering the state of things, the strength of his royal highness's party, the declaration of the publick, and the secret measures which his royal highness might have preserved with the prince. His royal highness knows better than any one whether he is not absolute master of the people of Paris, and whether, when he is pleased to speak peremptorily like a son of France, and like one who is, and knows himself to be, the head of a great party, there is one man in the *Parlement* and in the Hôtel de Ville, that durst, I will not say resist him, but contradict him. Doubtless his royal highness will not have forgot that I had proposed to him at the same time some previous things to be done abroad, that were neither remote nor difficult: the rallying the broken remnants of my Lord Montrose's troops, the taking into pay the disbanded forces of Neubourg, the declaration of eight or ten of the largest cities in the kingdom. His royal highness hath not thought fit to hearken to this proposal, because he thinks that the consequences of it would be dangerous to the state. God grant that the way he is in proves not more dangerous, and that the confusion into which it will in all likelihood throw him, be not more to be feared than the party I have proposed, which at least would have a son of France at its head. I had in Paris 300 officers at my disposal, and the Viscount de Lamet would have gathered up 2000 horse out of the disbanded forces of Neubourg. I was likewise assured of the towns of Limoges, Marseilles, Senlis, Orléans, Troyes and Toulouse."

This is what I wrote upon the table in the library, in less than two hours' time. I read it to the duke, in the presence of the

President de Bellièvre, who approved of it, and backed it with a much greater force than I had done myself. The contest grew warm, the duke maintaining, that without a commotion of this nature, (for so he called it) he would hinder the *Parlement* from declaring against the march of M. de Nemours's troops, which was the thing he feared most, being upon the point of joining his own to them. You will find that he was not mistaken as to that, as I had myself been, and as I was no less in another point; for I maintained all along to the duke, jointly with the President de Bellièvre, who was of my opinion, that it would not be in his power to hinder the *Parlement* from proceeding to the execution of the declaration against the prince, though that company had put out a decree whereby they ingaged not to do it till the cardinal was expelled the kingdom; for the court found so little room for that execution, on the side of the *Parlement,* that the ministers durst not so much as propose it.

These successes contributed much to the undoing of the duke, for they lulled him asleep and prevented his taking care of his own safety. I will go on upon these particulars, after I have given you an account of what passed in this conversation, in respect to my promotion to the cardinalship, which happened just at this time.

The duke, who was the man in the world the farthest from believing that it was possible to speak without some interested view, told me in the heat of our contest, that he could not conceive what interest I could find in a proposal, which by breaking all manner of measures with the court, would certainly cause my nomination to be revoked. I answered him, that I was by this time a cardinal, or that I was not like to be one for a great while: but that I begged of him to be persuaded that supposing that my promotion depended upon that instant, I would in no wise change my sentiments, because what I had proposed was for his service, without any relation to my interest: "And I beg only, sir," added I, "in order to convince you fully of this truth, that you would be pleased to remember, that the very day on which the queen granted my nomination, I declared to her majesty that I would never quit your service, but would advise you in the manner which I thought the most tending to your honour. I think that I am at this time acquitting myself faithfully of that ingagement, and to convince you of it, I most humbly intreat your royal highness to send to the queen the memorial which I just now wrote."

The duke was ashamed of what he had said to me. He

treated me with all the civility possible. He threw my memorial into the fire, and he left the library as obstinate (said the President de Bellièvre to me, softly) as he was when he came in.

I was telling you that I had told the duke that I was by this time a cardinal, or was not like to be one for a long while. I was but very little mistaken, for I was made one five or six days after. I received the news of it upon the last of February, by an express which the great Duke of Tuscany sent to me. I will tell you how that matter past at Rome, after I have made you some excuses for having tired you so much, as without doubt I have done, both with the length of this last memorial, and with that of the duke's discourse to M. Danville, which are both full of a thousand circumstances that you have already seen dispersed in several places of these memoirs. But most of these circumstances having given birth to that body, monstrous in its form, and almost inconceivable even in that sort of historical writing that may be called marvellous; a body of which the members seem to have had no manner of motion that was natural to them, having acted in a manner even opposite to one another; I have thought it even a piece of good luck to have met in the course of this narration with a subject that has obliged me to gather them all together, that you may with greater ease perceive at once these circumstances, which being only dispersed in several places, darken the truth of history by apparent contradictions, which nothing can reconcile but the setting in one view together, the several arguments and matters of fact. I return to my promotion.

You have seen in an earlier part of these memoirs, that I had sent to Rome the Abbot Charrier, who found the face of that court altogether changed, by the retreat, rather than the disgrace of the Signora Olimpia,[1] sister-in-law to Pope Innocent,[2] who had been forced to take some notice of a kind of reprimand which the emperor, at the instigation of the Jesuits, had caused the nuntio at Vienna to make in his name to his holiness upon her account. He had ceased to see the signora, and he allayed the cruel vexation which it was always thought that that had

[1] Donna Olimpia Maidachini, wife to Signor Panfilio, brother to Pope Innocent X., whom she governed at pleasure during his papacy. The complaints and the railleries which were made against the pope on that occasion, obliged him to remove that lady. Amongst other satirical pieces a medal was struck, wherein Signora Olimpia was represented in all the pontifical habits, and the pope spinning at a distaff. Signora Olimpia died of the plague at Orvietto in 1656.

[2] John Baptist Panfilio, elected pope in 1643, in the room of Urban VIII., to the great dissatisfaction of Cardinal Mazarin, and deceased in 1655.

caused him, with pretty frequent conversations with the Princess de Rossano,[1] his nephew's wife, who, though very witty, came not nigh the genius of the signora, but who, in recompence, was much younger and handsomer. She acquired in effect an influence over the pope's mind, and so great that the Signora Olimpia conceived a cruel jealousy at it, which having set an edge to her wit, already very sharp and active, made her at last find out the means of ruining her daughter-in-law with the pope, and of regaining her former credit with him. My nomination fell out just at the time that the Princess of Rossano was in her greatest favour, and it appeared in this occasion that fortune would repair the loss I had made in the person of Pancirolo. It was on this only occasion that I ever found it favourable. I have told you in another place, the reasons I had to believe that the Princess of Rossano would favour my pretensions, and that much more than the Signora Olimpia, who did nothing but by the help of money, and you will easily judge that it had been pretty difficult to persuade me to part with money for the buying of a hat.

The Abbot Charrier found at Rome all that I had expected from the Princess of Rossano, and the first advice she gave him was to distrust to the last degree our ambassador, who to the secret orders which the court had given him against me, joined the immoderate passion which he himself had for the hat. The Abbot Charrier made an excellent use of this advice, for he deceived the ambassador all along by appearing to put an intire confidence in him, and at the same time by shewing my promotion as a thing very remote. The hatred which the pope had preserved for a long time against Cardinal Mazarin's person, gave a colour to Charrier's deceit; and the interest of Monsignor Chigi, secretary of state, who has since been Alexander VII., concurred likewise very effectually to it. Chigi was sure of the hat at the first promotion, which made him hasten it as much as he could. Monsignor Azzolini, who was secretary of the briefs, and who had been attached to Pancirolo, had inherited from him a great contempt for Mazarin, and a great deal of good will for me. All this served to deceive the Bailli de Valençai, our ambassador, who had not so much as the least notice of my promotion till after it was over. Pope Innocent hath since told me, that he knew for certain that Valençai had in his pocket the king's letter

[1] Wife to the Prince Camillo, nephew to the pope. This lady, the Signora Olimpia, and the Princesses Ludovici and Giustiniani, who were constantly at the Vatican, gave occasion to Pasquin to say to Marforio, *se tu vuoi fare il Ruffiano, troverai donne al Vaticane.*

for the revoking my nomination, with an order however not to deliver it but in case of necessity, and at the opening of the consistory, in which the cardinals were to be declared; and the Abbot Charrier had sent me two expresses with the same advice. What is certain and what I have since learnt from Champfleury, captain of the guards to Cardinal Mazarin, is that as soon as his eminence had the news of my promotion, which he received at Saumur, he ordered him to go to the queen in all haste, and to intreat her in his name that she would dissemble and appear joyful at it.

I cannot help discovering in this place, for the sake of truth, my own imprudence, which had like to have made me lose the hat. I fancied to myself, and that very wrongfully, that it was against the dignity of the post I was in, to stay so long for it, and that this delay of three or four months, which they were obliged to make at Rome for the regulating a promotion of sixteen cardinals, went against the promises which I had received from thence, and the manner in which I had been courted to stand as a candidate. I grew angry, and I wrote a letter to the Abbot Charrier, which I ordered him to make publick, and which was written in a tone neither prudent nor decent. It was the most tolerable piece for style of any I ever wrote. I have looked for it to insert it here, but could not find it. The prudence of the abbot, who suppressed it at Rome, gained me by the event some reputation with those that had seen it in France, who thought that I owed my promotion to it; anything high and bold being always magnified when it is crowned with success. This did not prevent my being heartily ashamed of it, in which sentiment I still continue, and I fancy that I am in some manner making amends for that fault by publishing it. I return to my narration.

I had carried it, as I remember, to February 16, 1652. There was an assembly of the chambers on the 17th, in which you will see at once, as in a kind of an abridgment, which is more than sufficient in my opinion, all that passed in the assemblies from that day to April 1, though they were held pretty frequently. The duke opened the sitting by representing to the company that the *lettre de cachet* that had been read there upon the 15th, whereby he was taxed with favouring the entrance of the enemies into the kingdom, could proceed from no other cause than the calumny he was aspersed with, and to which the queen was willing to lend an ear; that the troops which M. de Nemours led were Germans, and consequently could not be called enemies. This was properly speaking the only subject which imployed

these assemblies. The President le Bailleul, who was at the head of them, began commonly to inlarge upon the necessity of deliberating on his majesty's *lettre de cachet:* the conclusions of the king's council were all along for commanding the commons to oppose M. de Nemours's march: and the duke continued constantly to maintain that the troops which he commanded were not Spanish, and that after the declaration which he made, that as soon as the cardinal was expelled the kingdom, they would enter into the king's pay, it was altogether superfluous to deliberate upon that subject. This contest was renewed every day, and even more than once in a sitting; and it is certain, as I have said before, that the duke shifted it off all along. But it is not less certain that he was misled by this pretended advantage, which he was so well pleased to have obtained when we had been of a contrary opinion, that he would not so much as consider whether what he had obtained was sufficient; that is, that he would not enough distinguish between the *Parlement's* conniving at, or declaring for, a thing.[1] . . .

Except the contests which I have given you an account of, and in which there were all along some of the contradictions which I have so often mentioned, nothing passed in these assemblies of the chambers worthy, in my opinion, of your curiosity. In some of them there were read the answers which most of the *Parlements* of France made at that time to that of Paris, which were all of them conformable to its intentions, in acquainting it with the decrees which they had put out against Mazarin. The other assemblies were imployed in providing for the preservation of the funds appointed for the payment of the Hôtel de Ville annuities, and of the officers' salaries. It was resolved in the assembly of March 13 to meet upon that subject in the chamber of St. Lewis, with the other sovereign courts. I was present at no assembly from March 1, both because the ceremonial of Rome does not suffer cardinals to be present at any publick assemblies till they have received the cap, and because that dignity giving no rank in the *Parlement*, except when cardinals accompany the king thither, the place that I could have in his absence being only that of coadjutor, which is below that of the dukes and peers, had not well agreed with the pre-eminence of the purple.

I must confess that I was extremely glad to have a pretence, and even a reason to go no longer to these assemblies, which in

[1] The French copy begins in this place a new period, but it being interrupted by a chasm which makes the sense imperfect, I have left it out.

truth were become not only tedious but insupportable. You will see that the assemblies which followed these, were pretty much of the like nature; but before I speak of them, I must touch as lightly as I can upon some particulars that relate to Paris, and say likewise something in general in relation to Guienne.

You may remember that I have spoken of M. de Chavigny in earlier portions of these memoirs, and that I have told you that he retired into Touraine a little after the king was come of age. He found not the secret there of making himself easy, but on the contrary he grew weary to a point, that he came back to Paris upon the first pretence that was offered him. That pretence was grounded upon the advice sent him by M. de Gaucourt, which made it necessary for him, as he said, to prevent the cabals I was forming with the duke against the interest of the prince. M. de Gaucourt was a gentleman of a very noble family, being descended from the ancient and powerful Counts of Clermont in Beauvoisis, so famous in our history. He had wit and industry, but he had too much assumed the character of a negotiator, which is not the best qualification required in negotiations. He was attached to the prince, and was his chief correspondent at Paris. His principal care, at least as it appeared to me, was to ruin my credit with the duke; but finding it no easy matter, he had recourse to M. de Chavigny, who came back to Paris with all haste, either for that reason, or taking that for his pretence. M. de Rohan, who arrived at that time, very well pleased with the manner in which he had defended Angers, though he had done it but very poorly, joined himself against me with the two others. They attacked me in form as a secret favourer of Mazarin, and whilst their emissaries were working upon such of the mob as might be won with money, they omitted nothing to move the duke by their calumnies, which were supported with all the cunning learnt at court, in which art, Raray, Beloy, and Goulas, belonging to the duke, but partisans of the prince, were not ignorant. I experienced in this occasion that the most refined courtiers may be easily deceived, when they rely too much on their conjectures. Those which these gentlemen made upon my promotion were, that I had obtained the hat by means only of the engagement which I was entered into with the court. This was the ground on which they went; they reviled me with the duke upon that account. His royal highness, who knew the whole truth, made a jest of it. Instead of ruining me they established me with him, because in respect to calumny, all that does not hurt the person calumniated is advantagious

to him; as in this case, where you see that these gentlemen fell themselves into the trap which they had prepared for me. I was one day saying to the duke, that I could not conceive how he did not grow weary of all the impertinencies which were so often repeated to him against me; his answer was: "Do you count for nothing the pleasure one has of discovering every morning people's wickedness hid under the name of zeal; and every evening their impertinence, under the disguise of penetration?" I told the duke that I received with respect that saying of his, which I looked upon to be a good lesson for all those who had the honour to approach great princes.

What the prince's partisans were working with the people against me, had like to have cost me dearer. They had some hired persons, whose bawling incommoded me more at that time than when I went abroad accompanied by a great number of gentlemen, and of servants, before whom they durst not appear. For, as I had not yet the cap, which the French cardinals receive only from the king, to whom the pope dispatches an express for that purpose, I could now go abroad only incognito, according to the rules of the ceremonial; so that when I went to his royal highness, it was always in a plain coach without any liveries; and I even went into the library by the little staircase that is next the gallery, that I might avoid the great staircase, and the great apartment. One day that I was there with the duke, Bruneau came in, all in a fright, to inform me that there were in the court two or three hundred of these bawlers, who said that I betrayed his royal highness, and that they would kill me.

The duke appeared struck down at this news. I observed it, and the example of the Marshal de Clermont, killed in the arms of the dauphin, whose fright could at most but equal that which I saw the duke in, coming to my remembrance, I took a resolution which I thought to be the safest, though it appeared the most hazardous; because I made no doubt but that the least appearance of fright in his royal highness, would occasion my being murdered; and because I still made less doubt that the apprehension of displeasing those who were bawling against Mazarin, whose murmurings he dreaded to a degree that was ridiculous, not to mention his temper that made him start at the least thing, would create in him a much greater fright than was needful for my undoing. I intreated him to let me do as I would, and that he would immediately see what contempt one ought to have for these mercenary rascals that were paid for doing what they did. He offered me his guards, but after a manner that made me judge

that my refusing of them would be very acceptable. I went down with only Château-Regnaut and d'Haqueville, and going directly to that troop of seditious mob, I asked them who was their chief? One of their crew who had an old yellow feather in his hat, answered me insolently: "It is I." I then turned to the gate that leads into the Rue de Tournon, and calling to the guards, I bid them hang that rascal at the iron rails. At this the rogue making me a low bow, told me that he had had no thought of doing anything against the respect which he owed me; that he came with his comrades, only to tell me that there was a report of my carrying his royal highness to court and of reconciling him there with Mazarin; but that they were far from believing it, that they were my humble servants, and ready to die for my service, if I would promise them to be always a good Frondeur. They offered to accompany me (but I did not want their convoy) to the place where I was going, which was not far off. It was to Madam de la Vergne's, who had married for her second husband the Chevalier de Sévigné, and who lived at the same house where Madam de la Fayette her daughter lives now. This Madam de la Vergne was at the bottom an honest woman, but covetous to the last degree, and more susceptible of vanity for her managing all manner of intrigues without exception, than any woman I have ever known. That which I proposed at that time to her, and for which I wanted her service, was of a nature to startle a prude at first. I seasoned however my discourse with so many protestations of having nothing dishonest nor uncivil in my thoughts, that what I proposed was not rejected; it is true that she would not hearken to it but upon my promising her most solemnly, that I would never require anything of her that should extend beyond what she could do in conscience to procure a good, chaste, innocent, and holy friendship. I promised whatever was required of me; my word was relied upon, and Madam de la Vergne was even well pleased with herself to have met with an occasion, very likely to break in time my dealings with Madam de Pommereux, which were not thought so innocent. That into which I was to enter was to be altogether spiritual and angelical; for it was to be with Mademoiselle de la Loupe, whom you have known since under the name of Madam d'Olonne. She had pleased me very much at a little assembly which had met some days before in the Dutchess of Orleans's salon. She was handsome, and had besides a reserved and modest air. She lodged just by Madam de la Vergne, and was such an intimate friend of her daughter's, that

she had a door made in a wall to come to her the more easily. The attachment which the Chevalier de Sévigné had for me, my going frequently to his house, and what I knew of his wife, contributed much to my hopes. But these hopes proved vain by the event; for though I had not my eyes pulled out, though I was not stifled for want of leave to vent my sighs, though I could perceive by certain airs that the lady was not displeased to see a prince of the church submit to her charms, the lady preserved all along a severity, or rather a modesty, which kept my tongue tied, though it used to give itself liberty enough; which will appear surprizing to those who have not known Mademoiselle de la Loupe, and have only heard talk of Madam d'Olonne. This story, as you see, is not much to the advantage of my gallantry. I pass for a moment to what was doing in Guienne.

As I pretend only to give you a precise account of what I have myself seen, I will touch but very lightly on the affairs of that province, and no further than it is necessary for your understanding better what happened there that had any relation to the affairs at Paris. I am even in doubt whether the little I intend to say will be very just, having it only from accounts, the exactness of which I dare not warrant. I have done all I could to get from the Prince of Condé the particulars of his actions that related to the war, the least of which have always been greater than the most heroick ones of other men; and it would be a very great pleasure to me to have it in my power to adorn and honour these memoirs with them. He had promised to give me an abstract of them, and I believe that he would have done it, if his aversion for relating his own wonders and the trouble it would have put him to, were not as great as his inclination and ability for performing them.

I have told you that the Count d'Harcourt commanded the king's armies in Guienne, and that his troops were the best disciplined of any in Europe. The prince's forces were all new levies, except what M. de Marsin had brought from Catalonia, which did not make up a body considerable enough to oppose those of the king. The prince, properly speaking, maintained his affairs meerly by his own presence. You have already seen how he had seized upon Saintes. He left the Prince of Tarente to command there, and returning himself into Guienne, he encamped his forces near Bourg. The Count d'Harcourt followed him, and he detached the Chevalier d'Aubeterre to reconnoitre his camp. That chevalier was repulsed by the regiment of

Baltasar, which gave the prince time to post himself upon a rising ground, where he made his body of troops appear so great, which was in effect but very little, that the Count d'Harcourt durst not attack him. The prince retired to Libourne after this action, which was that of a very great general. He left some foot there and he went to Bergerac, a place famous during the wars of religion, and he caused its fortifications to be raised up again. M. de St. Luc, lord lieutenant of Guienne, thought that he might surprize the Prince of Conti, who was lodged with some new-raised troops at Caudecoste, near Agen, which made M. de St. Luc advance that way, with 2000 foot and 700 horse, of the best that were in the king's army. He was himself surprised by the Prince of Condé, who was informed of his design, and the prince attacked him in the midst of his quarters, before he had had any news of the prince's march. He stood firm however and posted himself on a rising ground, where he could not be come at but by a narrow pass. Almost the whole day was spent in skirmishing, whilst the prince was expecting three cannons which he had sent for to Agen. He had great need of them, for he had in all with him, including the troops of the Prince of Conti, but 500 foot and 2000 horse, all new-raised forces. A weak condition does not commonly inspire boldness, but that of the Prince of Condé went further on this occasion, for it inspired him with a piece of vanity, which is I believe the only time he ever gave way to that passion. It came into his thoughts that if the enemy knew that he was there in person, it might frighten them so as to put them into disorder. He therefore sent some prisoners back, who failed not to acquaint their own troops with it, and the prince charging them at the same time, they immediately gave ground; and it may be said that they were defeated rather by the terror of his name, than by the shock of his arms. Most of their infantry threw themselves into Miradoux, where they were immediately besieged. The regiments of Champaign and of Lorrain, whom the prince would receive but at discretion, defended that sorry place with incredible valour, and gave the Count d'Harcourt time to come to their aid. The prince sent back his artillery and baggage to Agen. He put garrisons into some small places that might incommode the enemy; and in the evening he came himself to Agen, having with him Messieurs de la Rochefoucauld, de Marsin, and de Montespan, in order to observe the designs of the Count d'Harcourt, who on his side left some troops to besiege, if I am not mistaken, Staffort, and la Plume; and with the rest

caused some fortifications that Messieurs de Lislebonne, the Chevalier de Créqui, and Coudray-Montpensier, had begun at one of the suburbs of Agen, to be attacked. The gentlemen whom I have last named, signalized themselves in this attack, which was made in the presence of the prince. The enemies were repulsed with an extraordinary vigour, and the Count d'Harcourt, to comfort himself for his loss, went and took the two small places which I have mentioned.

The Prince of Condé, who had formed the design of returning to Paris, for the reasons which you shall presently see, resolved to leave the Prince of Conti his brother to command in Guienne, with M. de Marsin for lieutenant-general under him; but he thought it necessary before he left that province to secure entirely the town of Agen, which had indeed declared for him, but having no garrison, might change its side at every instant. He prevailed with the aldermen, who consented to suffer the regiment of Conti to be received into the town; but the inhabitants not being of the same mind with their magistrates, rose up in arms and set up barricades. The prince has been heard to say, that he ran a greater risk on this occasion, than he would have done in a battle. I have forgot the particulars, and all that I remember is, that Messieurs de la Rochefoucauld, de Marsillac, and de Montespan, made speeches in the Hôtel de Ville, and appeased the sedition to the satisfaction of the prince, of whose journey to Paris I am now to speak.

Messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and de Gaucourt were every day pressing him by letters not to mind so entirely the affairs of the provinces, as to neglect those of Paris, which, as it was the capital city, were in every respect to be chiefly looked after: these were M. de Rohan's words in a letter of his which I surprized. These gentlemen were persuaded that I broke all their measures with the duke, who indeed, when there was anything which he would not do for the service of the prince, excused himself upon the regard which my post at Paris obliged him to have for me. His royal highness has sometimes confessed to me that he made use of that excuse on some occasions; and it is certain that upon others he even forced me, by his persecuting me, to give some appearances which might confirm what the duke would persuade to these gentlemen. I represented several times to him that he would carry matters to a point that would oblige the prince to come to Paris, which was the thing in the world that he feared most. But weak persons being always moved by present objects, more beyond comparison than by

absent ones, though never so near, he chose rather to believe that it would be long before the prince could undertake that journey, than to deprive himself of the present ease he found in charging me as the cause of the murmurs and complaints which the prince's ministers were making him at each instant on a thousand things. But these gentlemen finding themselves more fatigued than satisfied with the duke's shifts, earnestly pressed the prince to come with all possible haste to their assistance; and their instances received a mighty support from the news which the prince had at that same time from M. de Nemours, the particulars of which it is necessary for me to touch upon.

M. de Nemours entered into France at that time without any resistance, all the king's forces being divided; and though M. d'Elbeuf and Messieurs d'Aumont, Digby, and de Vaubecourt, had forces spread up and down, he penetrated as far as Mantes, and passed the Seine upon the bridge there by the leave of the Duke de Sully, governor of Mantes, who was discontented with the court because the seals had been taken from his father-in-law. He encamped his forces at Houdan, and came himself to Paris with M. de Tavannes, who commanded such of the prince's troops as he had been able to keep together, and with Clinchamp who was a general officer in M. de Nemours's army.

This was the first false step that they took, for if that army had marched without resting, and if M. de Beaufort had joined it with the duke's forces, as he did since, they might have passed the Loire without any difficulty, and had very much imbarrassed the king's march. Everything contributed to this delay: the uncertainty of the duke, who could not determine himself upon doing even what had been most firmly resolved upon: M. de Beaufort's love for Madam de Montbazon, which detained him at Paris: the childishness of M. de Nemours, who was glad to shew to Madam de Châtillon his general's staff, and the false policy of Chavigny who thought that he would be much more master of the duke by dazzling his eyes with the sight of so many regimental scarfs all different one from another. This was what he told Croissy, who was imprudent enough to impart it to me, though he was much more in the prince's interest than in mine. I did not keep the thing hid from the duke, who was very much piqued at it. I took that time to entreat him to suffer that I should convince these gentlemen in his presence, that it was foolish in them to pretend to dazzle any one's eyes though weaker, beyond comparison, in every respect than those of his royal highness.

As he was about to make me explain myself, he was informed that Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours were waiting for him in his chamber. I went thither along with him, though against my rule, because I had not yet the cap; and the conversation being become publick (for there was company even to a crowd) I put my hat on as soon as he had his on his head. His royal highness observed it, by reason both of what I had just then said to him, and because I had always refused to do it, though he never failed to command it me. He was very glad of it, and he affected to keep up the conversation for a full hour, after which he took me in private and brought me back into the gallery. You may well think that he was angry, for I believe there were in his chamber above fifty red scarfs besides the cream-colour. His anger lasted all that evening, for he told me the next day, that Goulas, his secretary, and an intimate friend of Chavigny's, being come to tell him with great eagerness that all the foreign officers grew mighty jealous of the long conversations that I had with him, he had rebuked him very sharply, saying to him: "Go to the devil, you and your foreign officers; if they were as good Frondeurs as the Cardinal de Retz, they would be at their posts, and would not spend their time in the taverns of Paris." They at last rejoined the army, more certainly by my instances, than by those of Chavigny, who believed all along that I made it my business to retard them. For the duke soon took care to repair what he had let slip unawares, whilst he was angry: because it was convenient for him (or at least he fancied so) to make use of me sometimes as a pretence to what he did, and almost always to what he did not. I shall tell you which way the troops took their march, after I have given you an account of what happened at Orleans at this time.

It was natural that this important city should be much in the dependance of the duke, being his property, and the duke having made it his most ordinary place of residence; the Marquis de Sourdis besides (who was governor of it) being in his interest. The duke had however taken care to send thither the Count de Fiesque, to oppose the efforts of M. le Gras, master of requests, who did his best to persuade the inhabitants to open the city gates to the king, to whom that place had certainly been very useful. Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours, who saw best what consequence it was of, because having taken their march that way, they were nearer at hand to make their observations, wrote word to the duke that there was in the town a powerful faction for the court, which made his presence

there extremely necessary. But you may well judge that it was still much more necessary at Paris. The duke therefore chose without any hesitation to stay there, which he was advised to do by every one without exception. Mademoiselle [1] offered to go herself to Orleans, which the duke consented to, but very unwillingly, both because he thought it against decency, but much more because he relied but little upon her conduct. I remember that the day that that princess took leave of her father, he said to me: "This knight errantry would be very ridiculous, if the good sense of Madam de Fiesque, and of Madam de Frontenac, were not a support to it." These two ladies went with the princess, and with them M. de Rohan, and Messieurs de Croissy and de Bermont, counsellors of the *Parlement* of Paris. Patru said a little too freely, that as the walls of Jericho fell at the sound of trumpets, so would the gates of Orleans open of themselves at the noise of fiddles. This was a rub upon M. de Rohan, who was said to be a little too fond of them. However all this ridicule succeeded at last by the courage of Mademoiselle, which certainly was very great; for though the king was very near with some troops, and that M. Molé, lord-keeper and first president, was at the gate requiring entrance in the king's name, that princess passed the river in a small boat; she obliged the watermen, who are always in great number upon the quay, to break open a postern gate that had stood walled up for a long while; and she marched with the concourse and the acclamations of the people directly to the Hôtel de Ville, where the magistrates were assembled to deliberate whether they should let the lord-keeper in. You may imagine that the princess had the casting vote. Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours came immediately to her, and they resolved jointly with her to seize either on Jargeau or Gien, which are but small towns, but which have bridges over the River Loire. That of Gien was vigorously attacked by M. de Beaufort, but was still more vigorously defended by M. de Turenne who had just taken upon him the command of the king's army, having however the Marshal d'Hocquincourt for partner. The duke's army was obliged to quit this enterprize, having lost in it the Baron de Sirot, a gentleman of reputation and who served there as lieutenant-general. That gentleman boasted, and I believe it was true, that he had exchanged pistol shots both with the great Gustavus King of Sweden, and the brave Christian, King of Denmark.

M. de Nemours, who had a natural aversion and contempt

[1] Mlle. de Montpensier, the Duke of Orleans's daughter.

for M. de Beaufort, though they were brothers-in-law, complained of his conduct to Mademoiselle, as if he had been the cause that design upon Gien had not succeeded. They had some words upon that account in Mademoiselle's antechamber. M. de Beaufort, who pretended upon very slight grounds, at least as it was said at that time, that the other had given him the lie, returned M. de Nemours a box on the ear, as M. de Nemours pretended, for I have heard persons that were present say, that he received it only in imagination. It was at least as doubtful as those which M. Pascal ridicules in his letters against the Jesuits. Mademoiselle made up the matter, at least outwardly, and after a great contest, which had been no small occasion of beginning the quarrel, it was resolved that they should go to Montargis, an important post in the present conjuncture, because that by that means the army of the princes being betwixt Paris and the king, would be in a condition to countenance everything. M. de Nemours, who passionately wished to succour Mouron, was of opinion that it would be better to pass the Loire at Blois, that they might be behind the king's army, to whom the fear of abandoning too much the provinces beyond the Loire to the discretion of the army of the princes, would make it still more difficult to resolve upon advancing towards Paris, than it would be by the obstacle that Montargis would be to it.

The other opinion was carried in the council of war, both by number, and by the authority of mademoiselle; and I have heard gentlemen that understood these matters say, that the reason of the thing ought likewise to have carried it, because it would have been ridiculous to abandon all the places near Paris to the king's forces, whose only design, as it was clearly perceived, was to approach that capital, either to win it, or to frighten it. Chavigny spoke to the duke very much in favour of the opinion that carried it, as the dutchess, who was present, told me the next day; and I cannot comprehend what ground people could have to imagine that there was any contest about it at the duke's palace. His royal highness, in that case, had not failed to extol to me his resisting the advice of those who were attached to the prince. But every one was of the like opinion, and Goulas railed even openly at the conduct of M. de Nemours, who will, said he, lose Paris for the saving of Mouron. I return to the Prince of Condé's journey to Paris.

I have already told you that those who managed his interests with the duke, pressed his coming back to that place, and that

their instances were strongly supported by the necessity he thought there was, of helping or rather repairing by his presence, the harm which the incapacity and misunderstanding of Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours did, in lessening the weight which the valour and experience of the troops under their command ought to have given their party. The prince having almost the whole kingdom to cross, found it necessary to keep his march extremely secret. He only took along with him Messieurs de la Rochefoucauld, de Marsillac, de Levi, Guitaut, Chavagnac, Gourville, and another whose name I do not remember. He passed with an extream diligence through the provinces of Périgord, Limousin, Auvergne, and Bourbonnois. He narrowly escaped being taken near Châtillon-sur-Loing by St. Maure, a pensionary of the cardinal's, who followed him with 200 horse, upon advice given to the court by somebody who knew Guitaut. The prince met in the forest of Orleans with some officers of his who were in garrison at Jargeau, and he was received by the whole army with all the joy you may imagine. He dispatched Gourville to the duke to give him an account of his journey, and to assure him that he would be with him in three days' time. The entreaties of the whole army, which was fatigued to the last degree by the ignorance of the generals, detained him longer. He was besides naturally inclined to stay at places where it was likely that some great action might offer, and I am going to speak of one of the bravest he ever performed.

It appeared by the first step that the prince took, as soon as he had joined the army, that the opinion of M. de Nemours, of which I have spoken, was not right, for the prince marched directly to Montargis, which he took without striking a blow. Mondreville, who had thrown himself into the castle, with eight or ten gentlemen and 200 foot, surrendered immediately. The prince put a garrison into it, and without losing one moment of time, he marched directly to the enemies, who were quartered separately. The king was at Gien; M. de Turenne had his general quarters at Briare; and those of M. d'Hocquincourt were at Bleneau.

The prince being informed that the forces of this last were dispersed in the neighbouring villages, he advanced towards Château-Renard, and fell like lightning in the midst of these dispersed troops. He cut in pieces all the horse that were there belonging to the regiments of Maignas, Roquespine, Beaujeu, Bourlemont, and Moret, who were endeavouring to get to the dragoons' quarters, as they were ordered to do, but too late.

The prince broke even through the dragoons' quarter, sword in hand, whilst Tavannes was doing the like through the Croats'[1] quarter. He pursued those that fled as far as Bleneau, where he met with the Marshal d'Hocquincourt, who had 700 horse in good order, with whom he vigorously charged the prince's men, who during the obscurity of the night having ingaged too far, were dispersed, and even against their general's command were busy in pillaging a village. The prince rallied them, and drew them up in battle in the enemy's sight, though they were much stronger than he, and though he was obliged, by the great resistance they made at his first charging of them, to look to himself, having had a horse killed under him. His second charge was so vigorous that he put them entirely to rout, insomuch that it was not in M. d'Hocquincourt's power to rally them. M. de Nemours was very much wounded in this occasion, wherein Messieurs de Beaufort, de la Rochefoucauld, and de Tavannes, signalized themselves. M. de Turenne, who had sent notice in the morning to M. d'Hocquincourt, that his troops were too much dispersed, and too much exposed, and that the prince was coming to him; M. de Turenne, I say, came out of Briare, and drew up his forces in battle near a village; Ouzouer, I think. He put 50 horse into a wood that stood betwixt him and the enemy, and through which they could not pass without defiling. He made these horse to retire immediately, with a design thereby to oblige the prince to engage himself in that defile, by making him believe that that retreat was occasioned by their fright. This stratagem succeeded, for the prince threw three or four hundred horse into the wood, who at their coming out of it were overthrown by M. de Turenne; and they could hardly have escaped, if the prince had not ordered some foot to advance, which stopped those who were pursuing them. M. de Turenne posted himself on a rising ground behind the wood; he placed his artillery there, which killed many men in the army of the princes, and among others, Marey, brother to the Marshal de Grancey, who belonged to the duke, and who served as lieutenant-general in his troops. The two armies remained the whole day in sight of each other, and towards evening they both retired to their camps. It is a difficult matter to judge who got most honour that day, whether the prince or M. de Turenne. It may be said in general, that they both did what the two best generals in the world could have done. M. de Turenne saved the court, which had ordered, upon the news of M. d'Hocquincourt's

[1] Or Croatians.

defeat, the baggage to be packed up, without knowing precisely where they could find a retreat; and M. de Senneterre has since told me several times, that it was the only occasion on which he had seen the queen dejected and afflicted. It is certain that if M. de Turenne, by his great capacity, had not maintained matters, and if his army had had the fate of that of M. d'Hocquincourt, there had not been a town but would have shut their gates against the court. It was what the queen herself said that day with tears in her eyes to M. de Senneterre.

The advantage which the prince got over the Marshal d'Hocquincourt was not near of so great use to his party, because it was not pushed on afterwards so far as the prince himself would have probably done had he staid with his army. You will see what passed there in his absence, after I have given you an account of the first effect which the prince's coming to Paris produced, and of some particulars relating to me.

You have already seen that the prince had sent Gourville to the duke, as soon as he had joined his army, to inform him that he would be at Paris in three days' time. This news was a thunderbolt to him. He sent immediately for me, and at my coming he cried out: "You had foretold it; what new trouble on our hands! What a misfortune! We are now worse than ever." I tried, but in vain, to put him in heart again, and all I could gain of him was, that he would set a good face upon the matter, and keep his sentiments hid from every one, as he had done from Gourville. He performed this very exactly, for at his coming out of the dutchess's cabinet, he appeared with a most gay countenance, and published the news of the prince's coming, with great demonstrations of joy, though a quarter of an hour after he ordered me to omit nothing to spoil the sport, that is, to bring if possible matters to a point, that might oblige the prince to make a short stay at Paris. I begged of his royal highness not to charge me with this commission, "which (said I to him) will not be for your service, for these two reasons: The first, because I cannot execute it without giving the cardinal an advantage which will prove inconvenient to you; and the second, because you will never be able to stand it out, considering the temper which it has pleased God to form you of." This way of speaking to a son of France, will without doubt appear to you a want of respect; but I desire that you would observe that St. Remi, lieutenant of his guards, had used the same expression to him two or three days before, upon a trifling subject; that the duke had been pleased with it, and that he repeated it, speaking of himself on

all occasions. The truth is, that it was not improper in this conjuncture, as you will presently see. Our contest upon this was pretty great, and I resisted for a long while; but I was obliged to submit and obey. I had more time to go about this piece of work than I expected; for the prince, whom the duke had been as far as Juvisy to meet, upon April 1, thinking he would come that day to Paris, arrived there but on the 11th. By that means I had leisure enough to prevail with M. le Fèvre, Prévôt-des-Marchands, who was indebted to me for that post, and who was my particular friend. He spoke about it to the Marshal de l'Hôpital, Governor of Paris, who being well affected to the court, was easily persuaded. They called for an assembly at the Hôtel de Ville, in which it was resolved that the governor with the Prévôt-des-Marchands should wait on his royal highness, to tell him that it seemed to the assembly that it was against order to admit the prince into the city, before he had purged himself in respect to the king's declaration against him, which had been verified in the *Parlement*.

The duke, who was in a transport of joy at this speech, answered: that the prince came only to confer with him about some private affairs, and would not stay above twenty-four hours at Paris. As soon as the deputies were gone, "You are" (said he to me) "a gallant man: *havete fatto polito:* how will Chavigny be surprized at this!" To this I answered immediately: "Sir, I never served you so ill in my life: remember what I tell you." M. de Chavigny, who was told at the same time both of the deputies' speech and the duke's answer, reprimanded his royal highness for it, using bravadoes, which he carried to insolence, and even to rage. He declared to the duke, that the prince was in a condition to stay at Paris as long as he pleased, without being obliged to ask anybody's leave. By means of Pêche, one famous for being a seditious man, he formed a troop of 100 or 120 scoundrels upon the Pont-Neuf, who had like to have pillaged the house of M. du Plessis-Guénégaut, and he frightened the duke to a degree that he obliged him to make a publick reprimand both to the Marshal de l'Hôpital, and the Prévôt-des-Marchands, for having registered at the Hôtel de Ville the duke's answer, which he affirmed to have been given them only in private, and as a secret. As I was about insinuating to the duke that I was in the right in what I had said to him, he interrupted me hastily and said: "It is wrong to judge of things by the event. I was yesterday in the right; you are in the right to-day: what must be done with this sort of men?" He ought to have

added, *and with me?* which I took the liberty to do myself. For when I found that notwithstanding all the experiments he had made, he continued in the same conduct, which, speaking to me, he had condemned a thousand times, since the prince had left Paris to go into Guienne, I thought that I had reason enough to include him among the sort of men of whom he complained. I therefore resolved to meddle as little as possible with his affairs; which conduct, it is true, would be wrong with some sorts of men, in times that are very full of trouble; but which I thought necessary for me to follow, considering the duke's temper, which I could not redress, and considering likewise the state I was in at that present conjuncture, which I must beg leave to explain to you a little more at large.

I am obliged to tell you for the sake of truth, that as soon as I was made a cardinal, I began to feel the inconveniencies of that dignity, because I remembered what I had so often reflected on, of my having been too much transported at the splendor of the post of coadjutor. One of the causes of the abuse which men commonly make of their dignities, is their being dazzled with them at their first obtaining them, which occasions the first errors into which they fall, and which are always the most dangerous for a great many reasons. The stateliness which I had affected as soon as I was made coadjutor had a good success, because my uncle's meanness had made it necessary. But I clearly perceived, that had it not been for that consideration, and for some other seasonings which the disposition of the times, rather than my own address, gave me room to accompany it with, that stateliness would not have been an effect of good sense, or at least would not have been attributed to it. The time I had had to reflect on this, obliged me to give a particular attention to my present dignity, which is apt enough to turn the heads of most of those that are honoured with it. The most visible, and in my opinion the most palpable illusion it subjects new created cardinals to, is the pretension of preceding the princes of the blood, who may at every instant become our masters, and who in the meanwhile remain almost always so, in respect to our nearest relations, by the consideration they are in with them. I preserve a gratitude for the cardinals of my family, who have from my childhood taught me this lesson by their example; and I met with a pretty favourable opportunity of practising it on the very day that I received the news of my promotion. Châteaubriant, whose name you have already met with in these memoirs, said to me in the presence of a great

many gentlemen that were in my chamber: "Now, sir, we shall cease to salute first." This he said, because that though I was upon very ill terms with the Prince of Condé, and that I commonly went well accompanied, I saluted him, as you may well judge, wherever I met him, with all the respect due to him from so many considerations. I answered Châteaubriant, "Pardon me, sir, we shall always salute first, and lower than ever. God forbid that the red hat should turn my head to that point, as to dispute the precedency with the princes of the blood. It is enough for a gentleman to have the honour to stand by their side." These words, which in my opinion preserved afterwards in France the rank of cardinals, by the condescension of the Prince of Condé, and the friendship he had afterwards for me; these words, I say, produced a good effect, by lessening the envy which was conceived against me, which is the greatest of all secrets.

To attain that end, I made still use of another means. Cardinal Richlieu and Cardinal Mazarin, who had incorporated the dignity of minister into that of cardinal, had annexed to this last a sort of stateliness which can become neither of these dignities, but when they are joined together. It would have been difficult however, in the post I had at Paris, besides the cardinalship, not to have allowed me the same stateliness. But I parted with some of it of my own accord, and in a manner which made it impossible to attribute it to anything but my own moderation, having declared openly that I would receive in publick no other honours than those which had been rendered to cardinals of my family. And as all depends upon right management, I ordered my matters so, that I gave the upper-hand to nobody without exception. I waited on the marshals of France, the dukes and peers, the chancellor, the foreign princes, the illegitimate princes, who came to see me, no further than to the top of the stairs, and everybody was well pleased.

The third means which I thought upon, was to omit nothing which decency could permit me, to recall all those to my service who had parted from me, by reason of the different parties. It was impossible but that there must be a good number of them, because my fortune had been so variable and in such agitation, that part of those who were attached to me, were afraid at certain times to find themselves involved in it, and that others had opposed my interests on some occasions; to whom must be added those that had conceived the hopes of making their court at my cost. I should tire you, if I entered into particulars,

and it is enough for me to tell you, that M. de Bercy came to my house at midnight; that I saw M. de Novion at Father dom Carouge's, a Carthusian; that I saw the President le Cogneux at the convent of the Célestins. Every one was glad to reconcile himself to me, when to the dignity of coadjutor they saw one added of a much superior kind. As for me, I was glad to be reconciled with every one, at a time when my advances could only be attributed to my generosity. I found a benefit by it; and the gratitude of some to whom I had saved the shame of the first advances, has recompenced me more than enough, of the ingratitude of some others. I maintain that policy requires as much as civility, of those that are in the highest posts, to save that sort of shame to those that are under them, and to offer them their hand, when they dare not present theirs.

The conduct which I followed with application upon these several heads, agreed in more than one manner with the resolution I had taken, to enjoy as much as possible the quiet which the great dignities that fortune had assembled in my person might naturally enough, in my opinion, have procured me.

I have already told you that the incorrigibility (if I may use that word) of the duke had discouraged me to such a degree, that I could no longer so much as imagine that he could in the least be relied upon. The incident that follows will convince you that I must have been very blind if I had been capable of reckoning upon the queen. You may remember what I have said in an earlier part of these memoirs, of an imprudence of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, in respect to a part which I acted with the queen, in concert with Madam de Chevreuse. She imparted it to her daughter, against my advice, and the daughter understood the jest at first extremely well; I even remember that she took pleasure in making me repeat the comedy of the Switzer, for so she used to call the queen. It happened one evening, that the company being very numerous at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, most of them fell a laughing, and to tell you the truth, I can give you no reason why I did not laugh with the rest. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who was the most capricious person in the world, took notice of it, and said to me, that she did not wonder at it, after what she had observed some time since, which was, as she fancied, that I was grown much colder in respect to her, and that I had even a correspondence with the court, which I kept hid from her. I fancied at first that she was in jest, there being not the least shadow of probability in what she said, and I did not discover that she was in earnest, till she had told me

that she was in no manner ignorant of the errand upon which a certain footman of the queen's came every day to me. It is true that there was such a footman who had for some time been pretty often at my house, but it is likewise true that he had no errand for me, and that he came only to see one of my servants who was related to him. I cannot tell by what chance she became acquainted with it, and much less what could oblige her to draw from it the consequences she did. But she did draw them, and could not forbear her murmurings and threatnings. She said in the presence of Séguin, who had been *valet de chambre* to her mother, and who had some employment either with the king or the queen-mother, that I had confessed a thousand times, that it was impossible for me to conceive how anybody could be in love with that Switzer. In short, she managed her matters so, that it came to the queen's ear that I had called her majesty Switzer, speaking to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. I was informed that she was told of it three or four days before the prince's coming to Paris, and it is what she has never forgiven me, as will appear by the sequel. You will easily imagine that this circumstance, which shewed that there was no great room for me to expect good usage at court, was no hindrance to the resolution I had taken to live for the future more retired. My place of retreat had nothing very dreadful; and I had besides the arch-episcopal mitre, and the cardinal's hat, to defend me against the bad weather. I was full of the advantages of this quiet life, which if I did not enjoy, I can assure you that it was by no fault of mine, but only because fortune would not have it so. I return to my narration.

The prince arrived at Paris on April 11, and the duke went to meet him a league out of town. Upon the 12th, they went together to the *Parlement*. As soon as they were entered into the grand chamber, the duke told the company, that he had brought the prince his cousin to assure them, that he had not, nor should ever have, any other intent than that of serving the king and the state; that he would always follow the company's advice; and that he offered to lay down his arms, as soon as the decrees given out against Mazarin were executed. The prince spoke himself afterwards to the same purpose, and he even required that the publick declaration which he made of it should be inserted in their registers.

The President le Bailleul made answer: that the company took it always as an honour to see him there; but that they could not dissemble the great sorrow they had of seeing him with

his hands stained with the blood of the king's men, who had been killed at Bleneau. A noise arose at that word from those of the inquests, which was like, by its impetuosity, to have blown down the poor President le Bailleul; fifty or sixty voices were heard at once disowning what he said; and I believe that they had been followed by a great many more, if the President de Nesmond had not stopped and appeased the noise, by the report he made of the remonstrances which he, together with the other deputies of the company, had carried in writing to the king, who was at Sully. The remonstrances were very strong and vigorous against the person and conduct of the cardinal. The king caused the lord-keeper to answer the deputies, that he would consider them after the company had sent him their informations; his majesty being willing to give a judgment upon them himself. The President de Nesmond having made his report, the king's council were called in, who presented to the company a declaration, and a *lettre de cachet*, signifying that order to the *Parlement*, and likewise that of registring without delay the declaration whereby that of September 6, and the decrees given against the cardinal were superseded. Upon the king's council being called again, they concluded, after a sharp invective against the cardinal, that new remonstrances should be made to represent to the king the impossibility there was for the company to register this declaration, which against all manner of rules and forms submitted to a new judiciary proceeding, susceptible of a thousand objections, the most authentick declaration in the world, and which bore the greatest marks of the royal authority, and which consequently could not be revoked but by another declaration as authentick, and bearing the same characters. They added that the new deputies ought to complain to his majesty that the first deputies were refused having their remonstrances read in his presence; that they ought to insist upon this, as well as upon the reasons for not sending the informations which the court required; and that all the transactions of that day in the *Parlement* should be registered and a copy of which should be sent to the lord-keeper. These were M. Talon's conclusions, which he spoke with wonderful vigour and eloquence. After this the company began their deliberation which for want of time was put off to the 13th. The decree followed without any contest, conformably to the conclusions, with these additions however: that the declaration which the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé had made, should be carried to the king by the deputies; that a copy of the remonstrances, and of what had been

registered, should be sent to all the sovereign courts in Paris, and to all the *Parlements* of the kingdom, to invite them to send likewise deputies to the king from their several bodies; that a general assembly should at once be held at the Hôtel de Ville, to which the duke and the prince should be invited, and to make there the same declaration that they had done in the *Parlement;* and that in the meanwhile the king's declaration against Cardinal Mazarin, and all the decrees given against him, should be executed.

The assemblies of the chambers, of the 15th, 17th, and 18th, were almost wholly imployed in discussing the difficulties which arose about the regulating that general assembly at the Hôtel de Ville: for example, whether the duke and the prince should be present at the deliberation there, or whether they should withdraw after having made their declarations? Whether the *Parlement* had the power to order that assembly, or whether they ought only to invite the Prévôt-des-Marchands, with the other town-officers, and the chiefest citizens of every ward to assemble?

That assembly was held upon the 19th in the afternoon, at which sixteen deputies of the *Parlement* were present. The duke and the prince made there their declarations, in the like form as those they had made in the *Parlement;* and after they were withdrawn, and the king's attorney for the city had taken his conclusions, which were, that most humble remonstrances should be made to the king, both by word of mouth and in writing, against Cardinal Mazarin, M. Aubry, president in the chamber of accounts, and the eldest city counsellor, rose up and said, that it was too late to begin the deliberation, and that it was necessary to put off the assembly to the next day. He was in the right all manner of ways, for the clock had struck seven, and he held intelligence with the court.

The duke and the prince went to the *Parlement* upon the 20th, and the duke told the company that he was certainly informed that the Marshal de l'Hôpital, Governor of Paris, and the Prévôt-des-Marchands, had received a *lettre de cachet,* forbidding them to continue the assembly; that that letter was insignificant, being the work of Mazarin; and that he desired the company to send immediately for the Prévôt-des-Marchands and the sheriffs, and to injoin them to have no manner of regard to it. There was no need of sending, for they came of themselves to acquaint the company with this *lettre de cachet,* and likewise that they had called an assembly of the city common council, to advise about

what was best to be done. They were desired to withdraw that the company might deliberate, and being again called in, they were told that the company did not disapprove of the assembly which they had called, because it was according to order and to custom; but that the company gave them notice, that a general assembly which was called upon such important matters, ought not, nor could not be stopped by a single *lettre de cachet*. The company after this had their letter to all the *Parlements* of the kingdom read. It was short, but decisive and pressing. That same day in the afternoon the general assembly was held at the Hôtel de Ville, as the common council had ordered in the morning. The President Aubry's advice was conformable to the city attorney's conclusions. An apothecary named des Nots, who spoke very well, added, that they ought to write to all the towns in France, that were either the seats of *Parlements*, or of bishops, or of presidial courts; inviting them to hold assemblies like unto theirs, and to make the like remonstrances against the cardinal. That opinion, which had a majority of above seven voices that day, had the minority at the next assembly, which was held upon the 22nd. Some having said in that assembly, that that union of all the towns was a kind of league against the king, this brought the majority to the advice of the President Aubry, which was only for making remonstrances to the king about the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, and his majesty's return to Paris. That same day the duke and the prince went to the chamber of accounts, where they caused the like declarations to those they had made at the *Parlement* and at the Hôtel de Ville to be registered. That chamber resolved likewise upon sending remonstrances against the cardinal.

Upon the 23rd, the duke told the *Parlement*, that Mazarin's army having possessed themselves, under pretence of the king's approach, of Melun and of Corbeil, against the promise made by the Marshal de l'Hôpital, that the troops should keep at twelve leagues' distance from Paris, he was obliged to make his army advance likewise. After this he went with the prince to the court of aids, where matters were carried on as in other places.

Though I can answer for the truth of the facts which I have mentioned, in respect to the assemblies that were held at that time, that is, from the 1st of March to the 23rd of April, because there is not one but what I have verified myself with the registers of the *Parlement*, or of the Hôtel de Ville, I have not thought that the truth of history required that I should insist upon them with the same attention or reflection as I have done in relation to the

assemblies of the chambers, where I had been present in person. The difference between a narration written upon memoirs, though never so good, and a narration of facts which one has oneself seen, is as great as between a picture drawn upon hearsay, and one drawn from the life. All that I could meet with in these registers can be at most but the body of the thing, for as to the spirit of the deliberations, it is impossible to discover it by the bare reading of them. It is often much better discerned by a look, a gesture, an air, sometimes even almost imperceptible, than by the substance of things that appear the most important, which, however, is the only matter of which the registers ought to give us an account. I desire that you would take this observation as a mark of the exactness I have, and always will have, to be wanting in nothing that may serve to the explanation of a subject upon which you have commanded me to write. The account which I am going to give you, of what I was observing at that time of the secret springs which gave motion to these several intrigues, is a thing which I am better able to perform, and which I hope I shall do pretty exactly.

It is impossible that after having seen the unanimous consent of all these bodies, conspiring together the ruin of Cardinal Mazarin, you should not be persuaded that he is upon the very brink of the precipice, and that nothing less than a miracle can save him. The duke was as much persuaded of it as you can be, at his coming from the Hôtel de Ville; he teased me, in the presence of the Marshal d'Estampes and of the Viscount d'Autel, on the opinion I all along had, that the *Parlement* and the city would fail them. I confess now, as I confessed to him at that time, that I mistook in that point, and that I was surprized beyond what you can imagine, at the step that the *Parlement* had taken. Not but that the court contributed to it as much as lay in its power; and the imprudence of the cardinal, which precipitated the company into it against their will, was certainly more than sufficient to excuse, or at least diminish the shame which I might have to have formed such a wrong judgment. It came into his head to command the *Parlement*, in the king's name, to revoke and annull, properly speaking, all that that company had done against him, just at the instant that the prince arrived at Paris; and the man in the world who was the least ashamed of making use of illusions, and who loved them best when they were unnecessary, affected to reject them on an occasion in which I believe that a man of the greatest probity might have used them without scruple.

It is certain that nothing was in itself more odious than the prince's coming to the *Parlement*, four days after having cut in pieces a good part of the king's army; and I am convinced that if the court had not been over hasty, and had forbore doing anything at that instant, all the several bodies, who in truth began to be weary of the civil war, would have soon given signs of their weariness at the sight of the prince, who came only to engage them the more openly into it. That conduct in the court had been wise, but they took one quite opposite to it, which did not fail to produce a quite contrary effect; for by exasperating these bodies, they reconciled them in an instant to the prince. He ceased from that moment to be the man who had routed the king's troops, and was now only looked upon as one that came to Paris to oppose Mazarin's return. These representations of things, so different from one another, entered even into the head of those who would have sworn that they could not confound them. In a time of such a general prejudice, none but philosophers can distinguish these sorts of ideas right. But such men are few in number, and are besides counted for nothing, because they are never seen with an halberd in their hands. The busy men that make a noise with the people, and harangue in assemblies, are those who confound these ideas. This is exactly what the imprudence of Mazarin brought about; and I remember that Bachaumont, whom you know, was telling me, the very day that the king's council brought to the *Parlement* the last *lettre de cachet* which I have spoken of, that the cardinal had found out the secret of making Boislève a Frondeur. In saying that he said all, for Boislève was the arrantest Mazarinian that ever was known.

You will without doubt believe that the duke and the prince did not fail of making use of this imprudence of the court. Not at all; on the contrary, they let not one opportunity slip of neglecting and of spoiling all; and it is particularly on this occasion that it must be owned that there are faults that are more than human. You will not be surprized at those into which the duke fell, but I am still wondering at those of the prince, who was, even at that time, naturally the man in the world the most incapable of committing them. His age, his birth, his courage might have made him commit errors of another nature, which nobody would have wondered at. Those which I am going to specify, could proceed from none of these causes; much less could they proceed from opposite ones, to which it is impossible for anybody to attribute them; from whence I conclude, that

that sort of blindness so often mentioned in scripture, is even sometimes easily perceived in men's actions. Was there anything more natural to the prince and more agreeable to his inclination, than to have pushed on his victory and reaped from it the advantages which in all likelihood he might have done, if he had continued to command his own army in person? But instead of doing that, he abandons it to the conduct of two novices; and M. de Chavigny's unquietness, which recalls him to Paris upon a pretence, or a reason which had no reality at the bottom, overweighs with him what his warlike inclination and his true interest ought to have led him to, which was to stick to his troops. Was there anything more necessary to the duke and to the prince, than the fixing, if I may say so, the happy moment in which the imprudence of the cardinal would have delivered into their hands the first *Parlement* of the kingdom, which hitherto had hesitated about declaring itself, and had from time to time taken steps, not only weak, but dubious? Instead of making use of that instant, by binding the *Parlement* entirely to them, they occasioned a sort of fright in that company, which never fails to disgust at first, and afterwards to create fright; and they suffer them to take a sort of liberty, which at first accustoms them to resistance, and which infallibly produces it at last. I explain myself. As soon as the news came of the approach of the prince, there were papers posted up and a great commotion upon the Pont-Neuf. The prince had no hand, nor could have any, in it, for he was not arrived at Paris when it happened, which was upon March 2; it is true that it was done by order of the duke, as I have mentioned before.

Upon April 25, the office of the toll at the gate of St. Antoine was broken open and pillaged by the mob; and M. de Cumont, counsellor of the *Parlement*, who happened by chance to be there, coming to the duke in his library, where I was with him, and acquainting him with it, received this answer: "I am sorry for it, but it is not amiss that the people should now and then awake. There is nobody killed; the rest is no great matter."

Upon the 30th, the Prévôt-des-Marchands, and other town officers, who were coming back from the duke's, were like to have been murdered at the end of the Rue de Tournon; and they complained the next day to the *Parlement* that they had received no assistance, either from the duke or the prince, though they had sent to require it.

Upon May 10, the king's attorney for the city, and two sheriffs, would have been killed in the *Parlement* hall, had it

not been for M. de Beaufort, who had much ado to save them.

Upon the 13th, M. Quélin, counsellor of the *Parlement*, and captain of his ward, having brought his company to the *Parlement* for its usual guard, was deserted by all the citizens that composed it, who cried aloud that they were not assembled to guard Mazarinians; and upon the 24th M. Molé de Ste. Croix complained in full *Parlement*, that upon the 20th he had like to have been cut in pieces by the rebels.

You must observe that the mob, which alone committed all the disorder, had nothing in their mouth but the name and the service of the princes, who never failed to disown their doings the next day in the assembly of the chambers. That disowning, which was commonly very sincere, occasioned the sharp decrees which the *Parlement* put out on all occasions against the seditious; but it did not prevent the company from believing, that those who disowned the sedition were themselves the authors of it; and consequently it abated nothing of the hatred which many counsellors conceived at it; and it accustomed the company to give out decrees which were not, at least as they thought, pleasing to the princes. I am not ignorant, and I have said it elsewhere, that in weak and troublesome times that inconvenience is inseparable from popular power, and nobody has more experienced it than I. But it must likewise be owned, that neither the duke nor the prince had all the necessary application for salving the appearances of things which they did not in effect command. The duke, who was a weak man, was afraid of offending the people by repressing with too much violence the seditious; and the prince, who was an intrepid man, did not reflect enough upon the ill and powerful effects that these commotions caused with those that feared him.

I must confess myself in this place, and own to you, that as my interest led me to weaken the credit of the prince with the publick, I made use for that effect of all the colours which the conduct of many persons of his party furnished me with in abundance. Never was any man less capable than the prince himself of following that conduct; and nothing was ever easier than to charge him with the envy and the appearances of it. Pêche was every day in the court of the Hôtel de Condé, and the Commander de St. Simon was always waiting in the antichamber. You may judge that this last had played some very strange trick, since I make no scruples, notwithstanding his quality, to confound him with such a wretch as Pêche was. It is

certain that I made a very advantageous use of these two names against the interest of the prince, who was in truth no otherwise to blame in respect to them, than in not being attentive enough to their foolish doings. But without being wanting to the respect I owe his highness, I dare say that he was less excusable in not opposing at first certain liberties, which some private members of all the courts of justice took, to resist him openly, and even to attack him personally. I know that the Duke of Orleans's natural softness, and the continual jealousy he entertained of the prince, obliged this last to dissemble; but I likewise know that he was himself too soft on these occasions, and that if he had spoke and acted as he might have done when the court offered him so fair an opportunity, he would have brought Paris, and the duke himself, to submit to his will without using any violence. But my love for truth, which has obliged me to observe the fault, obliges me likewise to admire the principle from which it was derived. It is something so fine in the man in the world of the most heroick courage to have fallen into faults out of an excess of goodness, that what he has not succeeded in, in respect to politicks, ought at least to be admired and exalted by all honest people in respect to his morals. It is necessary to mention these particulars in few words.

M. Fouquet, attorney-general, and known for a Mazarinian, though he declaimed against the cardinal in his turn, came into the grand chamber on May 17, and in the presence of the Duke of Orleans, and of the prince, required of this last in the king's name, to give him a communication of the several associations and treaties which he had made both without and within the kingdom; adding, that in case the prince refused to do it, he demanded of the company an acknowledgment in writing of what he had requested, and of the opposition he made to the registring the declaration of the prince, about his laying down his arms as soon as Cardinal Mazarin should be removed.

M. Mainardeau declared publickly at the great assembly held at the Hôtel de Ville on April 20 that his opinion was that no remonstrances ought to be made against the cardinal, till the princes had laid down their arms.

Upon the 22nd of that same month of May, none of the presidents of the chamber of accounts, except the first, met at their chamber, upon some pretence or other, which appeared at that time a very slight one: I do not remember the particulars. M. Perroché, an instant after, told the princes to their face, that a decree ought to be issued out to forbid the levying any troops

without the king's leave; and on the same day M. Amelot, first president of the court of aids, said openly to the prince, that he wondered to see at that place a prince who after having so often triumphed over the enemies of the state, had lately united with them. I mention these only as samples of what was then doing. There were every day others of the like nature, and there was none, however inconsiderable it might appear at that instant, that did not leave in the minds of people some of that sort of impressions that are not felt for the present, but that are afterwards remembered. It is indeed prudent in the head of a party to bear with things which it is best for him to dissemble; but too much easiness in such cases, accustoms not only bodies, but private persons, to resistance. The duke, led by his humour, and by the jealousy which the prince gave him at every instant, was unwilling to displease anybody. The prince, who was in the faction only by force, did not study with application enough the principles of a science which the Admiral de Coligny used to say that nobody could ever be master of. In this manner both the duke and the prince left not only to every one the liberty of delivering their opinion, but even suffered them to carry it to licentiousness. They thought in all the occasions which I have mentioned, that it was enough for them to have carried it by a majority of votes, as indeed it had, if the matters in question had been such as are decided by the ordinary course of the law. They did not distinguish timely enough the difference there is between speaking freely, and speaking licentiously; and they could not persuade themselves that a speech pronounced with authority, with judgment, and in a decisive manner, and made besides at convenient times and at such critical moments as are now and then to be met with, might have produced this distinction, without the least shadow of violence. By that means they all along suffered a certain air of a party opposite to theirs to remain at Paris, which never fails to grow to a body when it is supported by the royal authority. If it had pleased the duke and the prince to remove from Paris, any one of those that had been wanting to the respect due to them on the occasions I have spoken of, which they might have done in a civil manner, the companies of which they were members would not have opposed it. The court of aids disowned publickly what M. Amelot their first president had said to the prince; that company would have consented to his removal, if the prince had required it; they had even thanked his highness for it the first day, and the next day they had trembled. The secret in matters of this nature, is to keep people

to their obedience, by apprehensions which they have themselves occasioned, and been instrumental to; these sorts of fears being commonly the most effectual, and always the least odious. You will see what the contrary conduct produced. But that which was of great help to induce them to a contrary conduct, was the itch of negotiating (so old St. Germain called it) which was, properly speaking, the epidemical disease of the prince's party.

M. de Chavigny, who had been brought up to state affairs from his infancy, thought of nothing else but of getting into them again by any way at all. M. de Rohan, whose only talent, properly speaking, was dancing, knew very well that the court was his only element. Goulas had no other will but that of M. de Chavigny. These simpletons, you see, could not but be very susceptible of proposals and negotiations. The prince was by his inclination, his education, and his maxims, more averse to a civil war than any man I have ever known, without exception. And the duke, whose predominant character was to be always full of fear and of distrust, was, of all men I have ever seen, the most capable of falling into false steps, by the dread he had of falling into them; being in that like unto hares. These dispositions made both the duke and prince no less susceptible of hearkening to proposals and negotiations. The quality in which Cardinal Mazarin excelled, was to go about the bush; to give to understand; to feed with hopes; to cast a mist before one's eyes; to offer proposals, and afterwards to entangle them. This sort of genius was altogether fit for making use of the illusions, which those that have in hand the royal authority are never without, to engage people in negotiations. It was indeed what he did with every one; and these engagements were in part the cause of the conduct which I have explained, because they misled people with the false hopes of an accommodation. But the worst effect they produced, and which made the conduct I have spoken of altogether pernicious, was that they gave courage to those in the city and the *Parlement* who were well inclined to the court, and that they took it away from those who were sincerely attached to the opposite party. I will explain these particulars, after I have given you an account of the motion of the armies of both sides, and of that which I was obliged to make in this conjuncture, against both my inclination and resolution.

The king, whose design, as I believe I have already told you, had all along been to approach Paris, left Gien immediately after the fight at Bleneau, and took his way by Auxerre, and by Melun, as far as to Corbeil; whilst Messieurs de Turenne and d'Hocquin-

court, who advanced with the army as far as Moret, were covering his march; and whilst Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours, who had been obliged to quit Montargis for want of forage, were gone to encamp at Estampes. The court coming afterwards as far as St. Germain, M. de Turenne posted himself at Palaiseau, which obliged the princes to put garrisons at St. Cloud, Pont de Neuilly, and Charenton. You will easily judge that all these motions of troops were not made without a great deal of disorder and pillaging, which last being looked upon at the *Parlement* as no better than robbing on the highway, occasioned every day some scene there, that had not been unworthy to be inserted in the ingenious satire written against the league. The scene in which I was acting my part at the duke's palace, was of another nature. I went thither every day without fail; both because the duke would have it so, to let the prince see that in case of need he might always reckon upon me; and because it was likewise advantageous to me to let the publick see that what those of the prince's party were every day saying against me, about my holding intelligence with the cardinal, was neither believed nor approved of by his royal highness. I kept always in the library, because not having yet received my cap from the king's hands, I did not appear in publick. At the time of my being there, the prince was very often either in the gallery, or in the chamber. The duke was continually going to him, and returning back to me, both because he could never stay long in a place, and because he sometimes affected it for different ends. The common sort of people, who love always to be mysterious, pretended that this continual motion, which was natural to him, was the effect of the different impressions which he received from the prince and me. The prince thought me the author of all that the duke did not do for the good of the party. The little attention I had had for the offers made to M. de Brissac, by the means of the Count de Fiesque, had newly exasperated him. There happened even occasions where the duke thought it was convenient for him that the prince's anger against me should not diminish. The truce betwixt us in respect to writing was broken. Pamphlets began afresh from his side, which I thought fit to answer; and it was on this occasion, or at least on some others that followed it, that I published some of those pamphlets which I have mentioned in an earlier part of these memoirs (though out of their place) that I might not be obliged to touch twice upon a matter too slight in itself to be spoken of so many times. I shall only tell you by the by, that the pamphlet entitled *The Disappointments of*

M. de Chavigny, First Minister to the Prince, which I dictated to Caumartin for a pastime, touched that haughty and vain man to such a degree, that he could not forbear shedding tears at it in the presence of above a dozen persons of quality that were in his chamber. One of them acquainting me with it the next day, I said these words to him in the presence of Messieurs de Liancourt and de Fontenay: "I intreat you to tell M. de Chavigny, that being conscious of the many good qualities that are in him, I would write his panegyrick still more willingly, than I have done the pamphlet which he is so much touched at."

I have already acquainted you with my resolution of keeping quiet as much as possible, it being certain that I could gain nothing, and could lose very much by stirring. I accomplished it in part, having hardly had any hand in anything that was transacted at that time, because I was fully convinced that there would seldom happen any occasion of acting handsomely, and that even the few that might perhaps offer of acting wisely, would be missed by reason of the different and complicated views which everybody had in this circumstance of time. I therefore rested myself upon my two great dignities, as being the surest foundation of my fortune; and I remember that the President de Bellièvre telling me one day that I should bestir myself more than I did, I immediately answered him: "We are in the midst of a great tempest, wherein it seems to me that our ship is sailing against the wind. I am provided with two good oars, a cardinal's mace, and an archbishop's crosier. I am unwilling to break them, and my business now is only to keep above water."

You have seen that being obliged to wait very often on the duke, I was forced to appear outwardly more active than I intended. Necessity even obliged me not to remain altogether quiet, because of the noise those of the prince's party made by their pamphlets against me, wherein I was treated as a favourer of Mazarin. I was obliged to reply by other pamphlets, and the noise this made, added to my frequent visits to the duke, which though they were publickly known, appeared the more mysterious, because I was obliged for the reason I have more than once mentioned, to go there only incognito, produced three very ill effects against me. The first was, that it occasioned even indifferent persons to believe that it was impossible for me to keep at rest: the second, that it persuaded the prince that I was irreconcileable to him: and the third, that it served to exasperate the court more and more against me, because I could not reply

to the prince's pamphlets without inserting in mine things that could not be agreeable to the cardinal. These inconveniencies could not be avoided without falling into greater. For the only means I had for avoiding the first, was an intire retreat from the world, which had been unbecoming, at a time that it would have been attributed to the pretended fear I had of the prince, and which had been against the respect and the service that I owed the duke, at a time when my presence, at least as he fancied, was necessary to him. I could avoid the second only by reconciling myself with the prince, or by suffering him to take with the publick all the advantages which he pleased against me. This last had been foolish, and the first was impracticable, both by reason of my ingagements with the queen upon that account, and of the disposition of the duke, who would always keep me as a reserve to help him in case of need. I could not avoid the third without taking steps towards the court, which the cardinal would not have failed to make use of to ruin me, as the following example will shew.

As soon as I had received the news of my promotion, I sent Argenteuil to the king and to the queen to give them an account of it; and I charged him expressly not to visit the cardinal, to whom I was, as you have seen, very far from thinking myself indebted for it, and whom I was besides willing to mark by a circumstance of this nature, with the *Parlement* and with the publick, for my enemy. The duke was so kind or so prudent to tell me himself, that he owned that it was necessary for me to give Argenteuil that order, but that I ought however to do it with a proviso, and that in the state in which things were or would perhaps be at his arrival at Saumur, where the court was at that time, he thought it best that Argenteuil should not be kept within too strict bounds, and that I should leave it to his discretion to see the cardinal in secret if he required it, and if the Princess Palatine, to whom I recommended Argenteuil for the introducing of him to the queen, thought it useful. "Who knows," added he, "if by the event, this may not be good for something, even for the main of our affairs? Prudence requires that one should not lose any opportunity that offers of deceiving, when one has to do with those that make it their business to deceive. Mazarin will without doubt render Argenteuil's conference with him publick; but where's the harm? Mazarin is an arrant liar whom nobody believes, and true or false he will publish it." These were the duke's words, which proved a kind of prophecy. The cardinal would see Argenteuil in the night-

time at the Princess Palatine's. He told him (moved without doubt with an excessive kindness for me) that if I had been foolish enough to order that he should have visited him publickly, he would, with an intent of serving me, have mended that fault of mine, by a publick refusal. He shewed a mighty regard for everything that concerned me, and he would have made Argenteuil believe that he was resolved to share the ministry with me.

It is certain however that before Argenteuil was returned to Paris, the duke was informed by Goulas, not of what had really passed in respect to that visit, but of all that would have passed if it had been of my own seeking, and made unknown to his royal highness, with a design of disserving him. This I think is sufficient to shew you what was working against me, and may serve to justify the conduct I followed at that time.

It is by your order that I am writing the history of my life, and the pleasure I take in obeying you faithfully, is the cause that I have spared myself so little, for you may hitherto have observed that I have taken no pains about making my apology. But I now find myself obliged to do it, because it has been on this occasion that my enemies have found it the most easy to impose upon the credulity of the vulgar. I knew that people were saying at that time: "Is it possible that the Cardinal de Retz is not satisfied to be at his age a cardinal and Archbishop of Paris? How can it come into his head that he can obtain by force of arms the first place in the king's council?" I know that the pitiful gazettes of that time are still full of these ridiculous ideas. I confess that these ideas had still been much more ridiculous than they are made appear in these papers, if I had really entertained any such views or such hopes. But it is certain that I was very far from doing it, not only by the unreasonableness of the thing, considering the circumstances; but even by my own inclination, which carried me with such a rapidity, both towards pleasure, and towards reputation, that the post of minister, which is a great obstacle to pleasure, and always renders reputation odious, was still more against my taste, than above my capacity. I do not know whether I am making my apology in speaking to you after this manner, but I am sure at least that I am not making my panegyrick. I consider that I am obliged above all things to say the truth, which indeed will not serve me much with posterity for excusing myself, but which will at least be of some service to shew that the greatest part of ordinary men that judge of the actions of persons in great posts, ought at least to be styled presumptuous fools. I begin to perceive that I have made this

digression too long, which you will perhaps attribute to vanity. I believe that it does not proceed from that principle, and that the pleasure I take in justifying myself has no other cause but my desire of receiving your approbation.

It is impossible that when you reflect on the situation I was in at the time which I have described, but that you must remember what I have told you more than once, that there are conjunctures wherein it is impossible to act well. The Duke of Orleans was, I believe, repeating these words a hundred times in a day, sighing and lamenting more than you can imagine, for not hearkening to me when I was representing to him that he would himself fall into this state, and cause everybody to fall into it with him. But my situation was still the worse by reason of some domestick disappointments (for I believe I may call them by that name) that happened to me at this time.

You have already seen that Madam de Chevreuse, Noirmoutier, and Laigue, had begun in some sort to keep divided from me; and that under pretence that they could neither directly nor indirectly come into the interest of the prince, they had in effect abandoned that of the duke, though they continued to observe outwardly all the measures of civility and respect they owed his royal highness. Their measures with the court became much closer. The Abbot Fouquet had succeeded Bartet in this negotiation, as I learnt from the duke himself, who obliged me, or rather forced me, to dive into it more than I had done if I had not had his express order; for in truth, since what had passed at the Hôtel de Chevreuse when the cardinal reentered the kingdom, I had ceased to rely in anywise upon them, and I continued to go thither only because I saw Mademoiselle de Chevreuse there, who had not failed me. I thought myself obliged to the duke for his giving no manner of credit to what Chavigny and Goulas were saying against me from morning to night, about the dealings there were between the persons I have named and the court, which in effect opened a large field to calumniate me, and I thought myself thereby the more obliged to watch them myself. This consideration made me enter, against my inclination, into some measures with the Abbot Fouquet.

I say against my inclination, for the little I had seen of that gentleman at Madam de Guéméné's, where he went pretty often to see Mademoiselle de Ménessin, a relation of his, had given me no great opinion of him. He was very young at the time of his going thither, but he had even then a certain air of a rash, passionate man, which I did not like. I saw him two

or three times, in the evening, at a friend's of his named le Fèvre de la Barre, who was son to the Prévôt des Marchands, upon pretence of conferring with him about breaking the cabals which the prince was making to render himself master of the people. Our correspondence lasted not long; both because I drew immediately from him all that I wanted to know, and because he grew quickly weary of conversations that answered not his purpose. He would have had me at the first instant to become as great a Mazarinian as he was himself, not conceiving it fit to preserve any measures. He may, for aught I know, have become since an able man, but I can assure you that at that time he spoke no better than if he had been but just come from college. I believe that that might be of no disservice to him with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, with whom he fell in love, and she with him. Little de Roye, who was a pretty German woman belonging to her, informed me of it. I comforted myself easily enough with the waiting woman for the infidelity of the mistress, whose choice, to tell you the truth, did not humble me. I took however the liberty to break some jests at the abbot, who thought, or who seemed to think, that I had carried them too far, and that I had threatened to have him cudgelled. I never thought of any such thing, and yet he has preserved as great a resentment for it, as if it had been true. He contributed much to my imprisonment; and M. le Tellier has told me at Fontainebleau, after my return from foreign parts into France, that he had offered several times to the queen to kill me. My anger against him went not near so far, and was not greater than my jealousy, which was but moderate.

Mademoiselle de Chevreuse had only beauty, of which one grows weary when nothing is joined to it. She had wit only for the man she loved, but as she never loved long, her wit lasted but a little while. She grew angry at her lovers as she did at her clothes. Other women grow weary of theirs, she burnt hers, and it was with the utmost difficulty that her women could save a petticoat, a hood, a pair of gloves, or a *point de venise*. I believe that if she could have burnt her lovers too when she grew weary of them, she had done it with all her heart. Her mother, who would have set her at variance with me, when she resolved to unite intirely with the court, lost her labour, though she had ingaged Madam de Guéméné to shew her a note under my hand, written to that lady, whereby I gave myself up to her, body and soul, as witches do to the devil. In the quarrel that I had with Noirmoutier and Laigue, at the time that the cardinal entered

into France, she took my part in the most passionate manner; but in two months' time she changed, without knowing any reason why. She grew of a sudden passionate for Charlotte, one of her women that was very pretty, and who would stick at nothing; but this lasted but six weeks, after which she became in love with the Abbot Fouquet, and to that degree that she would have married him, had he been willing. It was at that time that Madam de Chevreuse, finding herself idle at Paris, resolved to leave it and retire to Dampierre, being drawn thither by the hopes that Laigue (who had been at court) had given her, that she would be very well received there. I had an interview with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, to whom I opened my grievances, which to say the truth I did not much stomach, and which did not hinder me from sending all the gentlemen and all the horse I had by me, to convoy both the mother and the daughter as far as Dampierre. I cannot finish this slight sketch that represents the state in which I was at that time, without doing the Prince of Condé the justice I owe him for his generosity. Angerville, who belonged to the Prince of Conti, came from Bordeaux, with a design of attempting against my life, as the prince at least believed or suspected. I am ashamed that I can give you no exact account about the particulars, because one can never enter too much into the detail of good actions, chiefly of those one ought to keep a grateful remembrance of. The prince meeting Angerville in the Rue de Tournon, told him that he would order him to be hanged if he did not leave the town within two hours to rejoin his master.

Some days after, the prince being at Prudhomme's who lodged in the street called d'Orleans, and having by him in that street his company of guards, and a great number of officers, M. de Rohan came to him all in a sweat, to tell him that he had just left me in a sad plight; that I was at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, having with me only the Chevalier d'Humières, cornet of my *gens d'armes*, and not above 30 horse. The prince answered him with a smile, "The Cardinal de Retz is either too strong or too weak." Much about that time Marigny told me, that being in the prince's chamber, and having observed that he was reading a book with great attention, he had taken the liberty to tell him that it must be some very fine piece, since he took so much pleasure in reading of it; and that the prince answered him: "It is very true that I read this with great pleasure, because it tells me my faults, which is more than anybody dare venture to do." You must observe that what he was reading was a pamphlet of mine,

intitled, *What is True and what is False about the Prince of Condé and the Cardinal de Retz;* which might easily have piqued and angered the prince, because I sincerely own that I had been wanting in it to the respect I owed him. What the prince said on this occasion is great, wise, and noble, and may be called an apophthegm, of which Plutarch would not have failed to take hold with pleasure to honour ancient times.

I return to what was passing at that time in the assembly of the chambers, of which you have already seen the best part in the observations I have made, and on which I have even dwelt pretty long. I have mentioned to you the itch of negotiating as a disease that reigned in the party of the princes. M. de Chavigny had actually, but secretly, a negotiation on foot with the cardinal, by the means of M. de Fabert. It came to nothing, because the cardinal was at the bottom against an accommodation, and wanted only the appearance of one to discredit, with the *Parlement* and with the people, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé. He made use to that effect of the King of England, who proposed to the King of France a conference at Corbeil. It was accepted at court, as it was likewise at Paris, by the duke and by the prince, to whom the queen-mother of England proposed it. The duke acquainted the *Parlement* with it upon April 26, and he sent the next day Messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny and Goulas to St. Germain, where the king was gone from Corbeil. I took the liberty that evening to ask the duke if he had some certainty, or at least some view, that that conference would be to any purpose; and he answered me, whistling betwixt whiles: "I do not believe it, but who can help it? Everybody is negotiating: I will not be left by myself." You must give me leave to mark that answer, because it contains at once the whole conduct of the duke in respect to all the negotiations which are to follow. He never had any other view in any of them. He negotiated meerly because he saw others negotiate; he used no other art, no other cunning than that. He made no other answer, whenever I happened to represent to him the inconveniencies of that conduct, which however I never did, till after I had his repeated command for it above five or six times.

I believe that you will cease to wonder that I would not concern myself in all this. You will still be the less surprized at it, when I have told you that after the negotiation, of which I have been speaking, which only served to discredit the party, as you will presently see, there were five or six others, or rather a chain of them, which Messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, Goulas,

Gourville, and Madam de Châtillon, had in hand one after another. I gave however my helping hand to their work, which I embroidered with all the colours which might be of use to me with the publick. As my business was to cast upon that party the hatred and envy of Mazarinianism, which those that composed it tried to charge me with on all occasions, I did my very best to discover and expose publickly, the private advantages which these several negotiators were earnestly seeking for in their treaties. The proposals of the government of Guienne for the Prince of Condé, of that of Provence for the prince his brother, of that of Auvergne for M. de Nemours, of 100,000 crowns which were asked for M. de la Rochefoucauld, of the staff of marshal of France for M. du Daugnon, of a patent of duke for M. de Montespan, of the superintendancy of the finances for M. de Maisons, of the impowering the Duke of Orleans to make a general peace, and the Prince of Condé to name the ministers, were painted out with all the liveliness and extent possible. I thought it no imposture in me to publish that all I have mentioned had been proposed, because it is certain that I had such advices from court, though I would not swear that some articles were not amplified. What I know to be altogether true, is that the cardinal gave room to every one to expect that whatever they demanded should be granted, without ever intending for any single instant to grant anything at all. He gave himself the pleasure of exposing in publick Messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, conferring with him, both in private and before the king, at the very instant that the duke and the prince were saying publickly in the assembly of the chambers, that a previous article to all treaties was the having no manner of dealings with Mazarin. The cardinal acted a comedy in the presence of the gentlemen whom I have named, in which, whilst he was kneeling to the king, intreating him to give him leave to return into Italy, he had contrived that his majesty should publickly command him to stay, which command the poor cardinal was forced to obey. He had the pleasure to shew Gourville to all the court, though he caused him to come by a private staircase. He had the pleasure likewise to bemuse Gaucourt, who by his profession of negotiator, gave the negotiation still a greater lustre. In short, things came to that point that Madam de Châtillon went publickly to St. Germain; upon which Nogent said that when she entered the castle she wanted only to carry an olive branch in her hand. She was in effect received and treated there as a Minerva. But the difference

betwixt that goddess and her was that Minerva in all likelihood would have foreseen the siege of Estampes, which the cardinal undertook at that same instant, and in which he was prevented, but by a very little matter, from ruining entirely the whole party of the prince. You will see by and by the particulars of that siege, which I have touched upon here, only because it served to put an end to the several negotiations of which I have spoken, and which I have been glad to mention together, that I might not be obliged to interrupt so frequently the thread of my narration.

But I doubt you are yourself interrupting at this instant, to tell me that Cardinal Mazarin must be a man of great skill, to deceive people, in a manner so useful to him, by so many appearances of advantagious accommodations. To this my answer is, that those who have in their hands the royal authority, find an incredible facility in deceiving those who have a great aversion to make war against the king. I am in doubt whether I am excusing or praising the prince. I am speaking the truth, which I have taken the liberty to speak to himself. There had like to have been some stirring in the *Parlement* upon the day that the duke spoke of the conferences which Messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, had had at St. Germain with the cardinal.

This happened at the *Parlement* on April 30. The murmur was such, that the duke, who was frighted at it, said publickly that they would never see him there again till the cardinal was out of France. The company resolved that the attorney-general should be sent to court to sollicit the necessary passes for the deputies who were to make the new remonstrances; and to complain of the disorders committed by the soldiers in the neighbourhood of Paris.

Upon May 3, the attorney-general made his report of what he had done at St. Germain, in pursuance of the orders of the company. He said that the king would hear the remonstrances on Monday the 6th of that month, and that his majesty was very sorry that the conduct of the Duke of Orleans and of the Prince of Condé should oblige him to keep his army so near Paris. The Hôtel de Ville ordered that day the gates to be guarded, which they would not do however before they had first a *lettre de cachet* to command them to do it. The court sent that order, because they knew there that the duke would at last oblige them to do it of his own authority. It was certainly a very necessary thing, tumults and disorders visibly encreasing at Paris every day.

Upon the 6th, the remonstrances of the *Parlement* and of the chambers of accounts were made to the king with a great deal of vigour.

On the 7th, those of the court of aids and the Hôtel de Ville were likewise made. The king's answer to all these remonstrances, was that he would order his troops to retire when those of the princes were removed further. The lord-keeper, who spoke in his majesty's name, did not so much as pronounce the name of the cardinal.

Upon the 10th, it was resolved in the *Parlement* that the king's council should be sent again to St. Germain to demand an answer about the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, and to insist further upon the army's retiring from the neighbourhood of Paris.

The prince came to the *Parlement* upon the 11th, to inform the company that the bridge of St. Cloud was attacked. He caused as many citizens as he found willing to take up arms, and he carried them as far as the Bois de Boulogne, where he had notice that those who had reckoned upon taking the bridge of St. Cloud without any opposition, meeting with resistance there, had retired. He made use of the ardour of the citizens to seize upon St. Denis, where 200 Switzers were in garrison. He took them sword in hand and without any form of a siege, having himself got the first over the fosse; and he came back the next morning to Paris, having left at St. Denis the regiment of Conti, if I am not mistaken, to guard that place. But what he had done proved fruitless; for Renneville, or St. Mégrin, I do not remember precisely which, retook it two days after with all manner of facility, the inhabitants having declared for the king. La Lande, who commanded there for the prince, made a pretty great resistance in the vaults of the church belonging to the abbey, which he defended for two or three days.

There was a great commotion at the *Parlement* upon the 14th. Many confused voices were heard, demanding that the company should deliberate upon finding out means for preventing the insolences and the seditions that happened daily in the town, and even in the *Parlement* hall. The duke, who was informed of it, and who was afraid that under that pretence the Mazarinians of the *Parlement* would oblige the company to take some steps contrary to his interest, came to the *Parlement* pretty unexpectedly, and he proposed that the company should give him a full power. This proposal, which was inspired to the duke by M. de Beaufort, in a heat, without any view, and upon very slight grounds, produced three ill effects; the first of which was,

that the whole company was persuaded that it was done upon mature deliberation: the second, that it lessened the duke very much, his birth and his post, considering the conjunctures, having no need of a borrowed authority: and the third, that the presidents took so much courage at it, that they durst tell the duke to his face, that none were ignorant of the respect they owed him, and that for this reason they thought it proper to forbear to insert his proposal in their registers. Nothing is so dangerous as proposals which appear mysterious and are not so; because they raise all the envy which mysterious things never fail to do, and that they are even an obstacle to the advantages which it is supposed they will bring.

The duke upon the 15th had a sad experience of that truth, for he had the vexation to see a printer summoned to appear before the chambers, for publishing a pamphlet wherein it was said that the *Parlement* had resigned all their authority, and that of the whole city, into the hands of the duke. He told me that evening, swearing, that he no longer wondered that M. de Mayenne, during the league, was not able to bear the impertinences of that company, adding even to that expression another still more licentious. I answered him something which I have forgot, but I remember that he smiled at it and set it down in his table book, saying to me, I will paraphrase it to the prince.

Upon the 16th the President de Nesmond made his report about the remonstrances, which the king had ordered, after some difficulties, to be read in the presence of the deputies, to whom he said that he should order an answer in writing to be made to them in two or three days. After the President de Nesmond had spoken, the attorney-general gave an account of his deputation, saying that having demanded that the troops should retire ten leagues from Paris, and having explained the declaration which the princes had made for causing likewise those they had at the bridge of St. Cloud, and at Neuilly, to retire, the king had named on his side the Marshal l'Hôpital, and had sent a pass with a blank to insert the name of the gentleman which should be sent by the duke, to confer together with the marshal, of the means of proceeding to that removal. He added, that the Count de Béthune, who had been chosen by the duke to that effect, had conferred with Messieurs de Bouillon, de Villeroy, and le Tellier, and that his majesty, out of regard for his good city of Paris, yielded to grant that removal, provided that the princes should execute on their side what they were engaged to on the same account. The attorney-general, who was assisted by M. Bignon,

advocate-general, presented afterwards to the company a writing signed by the king and countersigned by a secretary of state, importing that his majesty would without delay send for two presidents and two counsellors out of each chamber, to inform them of his will in respect to the remonstrances. Upon this the *Parlement* ordered new ones to be made in which the cardinal's name should be mentioned with a still greater aggravation.

Nothing considerable passed in the assemblies of the chambers of May 24 and 28.

Upon the 29th the deputies of the inquests came into the grand chamber, demanding an assembly of the chambers to deliberate about the means of raising the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand livres, promised to the man that should bring the cardinal to justice. Just at that time the vicar-general to the archbishop coming into the bar of the king's council, to confer about the exposing the shrine of Sainte Geneviève, Le Clerc de Courcelle said wittily enough on that occasion, "We are this day ordering a double holyday; a solemn procession of our patroness's shrine, and the assassination of a cardinal." It is time to speak of the siege of Estampes.

You have seen that it was agreed on both sides that the troops should be removed ten leagues from Paris. M. de Turenne, who some time before had used those of the princes pretty roughly at the suburbs of Estampes, where the regiments of foot of Burgundy, and of horse of Wirtemberg and of Brow, had suffered very much, resolved upon crushing them altogether in the town itself; and the weakness of the place, as well as that of the generals, made him believe that the thing was not impracticable. The Count de Tavannes, who commanded there for the prince, (Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours being at Paris) made one of the finest and most vigorous defences that has been seen in our days. There was much blood shed on both sides. The Chevaliers de la Vieuville and de Parabère were wounded there. The attacks were frequent and vigorous; the defence was no less so. The small number would have at last yielded to the stronger, if the Duke of Lorrain [1] had not come very *à propos* to oblige M. de Turenne to raise the siege. This march of M. de Lorrain's deserves to be explained to you.

The Spaniards had been for a pretty long time pressing him to enter into France for the assisting the princes. The Duke and Dutchess of Orleans had been earnestly solliciting him to the like effect. His answer to the Spaniards was to demand money

[1] Charles IV., Duke of Lorrain.

of them; and of the Duke and Dutchess of Orleans, he demanded the towns of Jametz, Clermont, and Stenay, which had formerly belonged to him, and which the king had since given the Prince of Condé. The duke forced me one day to dictate to Fremont an instruction for le Grand, whom he was sending to Brussels, in order to persuade the Duke of Lorrain; and I may sincerely say that it is the only thing of that nature that I did during the whole course of that war. I was continually telling the duke that I would preserve the satisfaction of being able to think inwardly that I had nothing to do in an affair where everything went *alla peggio*;[1] and I had almost used him even to cease to ask my opinion upon what passed, by answering him always with monosyllables. He was one day chiding me for it, when I added: "It is true, sir, and that monosyllable is always the same, always no." I could not observe the same conduct in respect to the Duke of Lorrain's march, for the Duke of Orleans desired absolutely, and the dutchess still more than him, that I should draw up the instruction which I have just now mentioned. I do not know whether it found the Duke of Lorrain already inclined that way, but he marched with his army, which was composed of 8000 men, all veterans and good soldiers. He left them at Lagny and came himself to Paris, entring the city on horseback with an incredible applause of the people. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé went to meet him on the last of May as far as Bourges, and were accompanied by Messieurs de Beaufort, de Nemours, de Rohan, de Sully, de la Rochefoucauld, de Gaucourt, de Chavigny, and Don Gabriel de Toledo. It happened by chance that these two last marched abreast in the entry. The duke, who hated Chavigny, told it me in the evening, transported with joy at it, and my answer was that I wondered what could occasion his surprize; that M. de Chavigny did no more than what the President Jeannin, who had been one of the ablest ministers of Henry IV., had formerly done; that the only difference was that the President Jeannin had squadroned with the Spaniards before he was a minister, and M. de Chavigny did it not till after he had been one. The duke was very well pleased with the apology, which he got to be written down, and had several copies of it maliciously dispersed up and down in a manner that I found one upon his staircase, and another at the Cours a quarter of an hour after. I kept myself very reserved in respect to the Duke of Lorrain, and though he was brother to the Dutchess of Orleans, to whom I

[1] To the bad.

was very particularly attached, all I did was to send a gentleman to assure him of my services. The Duke of Orleans desired that I should see him, in which there was some difficulty, the dukes of Lorraine pretending to take the upper hand of cardinals they go to visit.

We met at the Dutchess of Orleans's, and afterwards in the duke's gallery, where there is no rank observed, and where besides, supposing there had been any, no difficulty had arisen, because he did not dispute me the rank in a third place. This conference was wholly spent in civilities and in railleries, in which he was inexhaustible. He took a fancy two or three days after to see me at the novices' house at the Jesuits, where I met him at the Dutchess of Orleans's desire. I began by telling him, that I was very sorry that the Roman ceremonial had not given me leave to pay him my respects at his house, as I should have wished; and he immediately repaid me in the same coin, by saying, that he was sorry at heart that the ceremonial of the empire should have hindered his waiting on me at my house, and his using me as he could have wished. He asked me afterwards, without any preamble, whether I thought his nose so proper to be tweaked? and then going on, he railed at the archduke, and at the Duke and Dutchess of Orleans, who made him receive a dozen tweaks on the nose every day, by obliging him to come and succour the Prince of Condé, who detained what belonged to him. From this he entered into a detail of proposals and overtures, of which I protest I understood not one word. I thought that my best way was to answer him by a discourse which I can assure you he could make but little of. He has remembered this as long as he lived, and when he returned into Lorrain, the first compliment he sent me by the Abbot de St. Michael, was that he did not doubt but that we should for the future understand one another better than we had done at the Jesuits at Paris. To tell you the truth, I had been to blame, if I had spoken more clearly than he, being so well informed of what was passing everywhere in respect to him. I had sure notice that the court offered him in a manner *carte blanche;* and I was not ignorant that though he might fill it almost as he pleased, he gave ear however to much lesser proposals.

Madam de Chevreuse, who had not yet left Paris at that time, told him, rather in jest than seriously, that he might perform the gallantest action in the world, by obliging M. de Turenne to raise the siege of Estampes, which would fully satisfy both the duke and the Spaniards; and by returning immediately after

with his army into Flanders, which would to the last degree please the queen, whose particular servant he had all along professed himself to be. This proposal, which might please both sides, agreed very well with his wavering way. He resolved upon it without any more ado, and Madam de Chevreuse valued herself for it at court, where they were not sorry to cover the necessity they were in of raising the siege of Estampes, with some appearance of a negotiation, which they magnified among the publick with a thousand particulars, that are always honoured by vulgar reasonings as so many mysteries. Nothing in the world however was less mysterious than what passed on these occasions; and though I was at that time not at all in the confidence either of Madam or Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, as you have already seen, I was well enough informed of it, against both their wills, to assure you of the certain truth of what I have said. The conduct which the Duke of Lorrain followed the next day after the siege was raised, was a sure mark that I was not deceived, or was at least a proof that he remained not long satisfied with himself in respect to that action. For though he spoke to the duke of the service he had done him in obliging the court to raise the siege of Estampes, in the highest terms, it appeared to me soon after, that he was ashamed of the treaty he had made, and that this was the reason which obliged him to grant the princes what they asked of him, which was to delay his marching away, and to stay at Villeneuve St. George till the troops that marched out of Estampes were got into some safe place.

M. de Turenne finding that the Duke of Lorrain did not keep the word he had given him to return into the Low Countries, marched to Corbeil, with a design to pass the Seine there, and to fight him. There were goings backward and forward about explaining what had been either promised or not promised, during which the troops of Lorrain intrenched themselves. M. de Turenne being advanced with the king's army, having passed the River Yère, and having drawn up his army in battle in the presence of the Lorrainers, everybody was expecting that both armies would have given the signal for a battle, which certainly had been bloody, considering the goodness of the troops on both sides, but which would probably have turned to the advantage of those of the king, because the Lorrainers wanted ground. At that critical instant my Lord Jermyn came to M. de Turenne, acquainting him that the Duke of Lorrain was ready to execute what had been agreed upon, on such and such terms. A negotia-

tion was immediately entered into, and the King of England, who upon the likelihood of a battle had joined M. de Turenne, went himself backward and forward. It was agreed that M. de Lorrain should depart the kingdom in fifteen days, and remove from his post the very next day; that he should put into M. de Turenne's possession, the boats which had been sent him from Paris to make a bridge over the river; that M. de Turenne should make no use of these boats to pass the Seine, and stop the passage of the troops that had marched out of Estampes; that what troops belonging to the princes were in the Prince of Condé's camp, might safely come into Paris; and that provisions should be furnished by the king's order to the Duke of Lorrain's troops during their retreat. These two last articles received not much opposition, M. de Turenne saying, that he was persuaded the Duke of Lorrain's army would save the king the trouble and expence of furnishing them with provisions, because they would take care to provide for themselves upon the road; and as for the liberty that was asked for the troops of the princes to get safely into Paris, M. de Turenne granted it with joy, because he was sure that that would more alarm than incourage the city. M. de Beaufort, who had brought to his camp five or six hundred volunteers from among the citizens, told the duke the next day in the evening that they had been so much frightened, that he was troubled for fear they should alarm the whole city. The prince, who was sick at that time, was for that reason against their going out of the city at that conjuncture. I return to the *Parlement*.

I have had so little share in the last assemblies of the chambers, and in the affairs I have last mentioned, that I have been for some time in doubt with myself whether I should insert them in a work that ought to be, properly speaking, but meerly the account which you have commanded me to give you of my actions. It is certain that my promotion happened just at a time when the state of things, as I have been explaining to you before, had prevented my acting almost in any manner, though I had continued to assist at the deliberations of the *Parlement*. I was now deprived by my dignity to sit and speak there, and as you have seen before, I spoke but little at the duke's palace. As for the movement I gave myself there, I can assure you very sincerely, that it was more imaginary than real, and such only as speculative men were pleased to fancy. But as they were pleased to fancy all manner of things upon my account, I was continually exposed to the distrust of some, to the

apprehension of others, and to the reasonings of all. The part I acted, which was to keep inactive, or at most meerly on the defensive, is always a dangerous part to act, and is not easy to be described, because one can hardly do it without an appearance of vain-glory, and self-love. It looks as if one incorporated oneself with everything considerable that happens in a state, when, in a work that ought to relate only to one's own person, a man dwells upon matters in which he has had no share. From that consideration I have looked out with care how to distinguish things of that nature, from others which really belong to these memoirs; but it has been impossible for me to do it, because the figure I have made (though but a middling one) in the times that went before and that followed these, in which I remained inactive, gives them such a relation and connection one with another, that it would be a hard task to set them before your eyes in a true light, if they were intirely distinguished. This obliges me to go on with what was passing at that time, in which I intend however to be as short as possible, because I never write upon other people's memoirs but with an extreme répugnance. I will only mention matters of fact, without any observations of my own, and only relate what appears the most weighty to me, passing by the most slight matters; and in what relates to the assemblies of the *Parlement*, I shall take notice of the dates in respect only to the most considerable deliberations. I shall forbear even mentioning the others, being persuaded that it is more than sufficient to tell you, that they were wholly employed in declamations against the cardinal, in complaints and in decrees against the insolencies and the seditions of the people, and in the prince's disowning these seditions, which for the most part were indeed but too natural an effect of the people's dispositions.

Upon June 1, the duke sent to the *Parlement* to know what seat they would give the Duke of Lorrain in the assemblies of the chambers. The company answered unanimously, that the Duke of Lorrain being an enemy to the state, they could give him no seat at all there. The duke, who honoured me with a visit two or three days after, upon account of a defluxion I had in my eyes, said to me: "Could you have believed that the *Parlement* would have made me that answer?" To which I replied: "I could have much less believed, sir, that you would have run the hazard of asking them the question." He replied in an angry tone: "If I had not ventured it, the prince would have said that I had been a Mazarinian." This

word discovers the principle of all the duke's actions at that time.

There was a great commotion at the *Parlement* upon the 7th, on account of the approach of the troops of Lorrain, who had come on this side of Lagny, and who committed great disorders in Brie. This was spoken of in the *Parlement* with the same surprize and horror, as if there had been no manner of divisions in the kingdom.

Upon the 10th, the President de Nesmond reported what had passed in the deputation sent to the king, who from the beginning of the siege of Estampes had advanced as far as Melun. His majesty's answer was, that the company might send whom they pleased to confer with those whom he should name, about re-establishing the publick quiet. The company deliberated upon this, and they resolved to send the same deputies back to court to be better informed of the king's will, but to renew however the remonstrances against Mazarin. Both the duke and the prince had been against this resolution, maintaining that no proposals about a conference ought to be hearkened to, except the first article was actually and effectually for the removing the cardinal.

The complaints were renewed upon the 14th against the approach of the troops of Lorrain, and were carried so far as to occasion the sending for the king's council, whose conclusions were that the Duke of Orleans should be desired to oblige them to retire. A counsellor, whose name I do not remember, having said, that he could not imagine how the retreat of those troops could be of service to the company, considering upon what terms they were with the court; Mainardeau answered, that that reason obliging the company still the more to take off all manner of pretences that might be made use of for calumniating them with the king, his opinion was that they should put out a decree injoining the commons to fall upon them. A further deliberation upon this was however put off till the duke should be present. It is likely that you imagine that the Duke of Lorrain's retreat, of which I have spoken, and which was known at Paris upon the 16th, made no great impression upon people's minds, having been so generally wished for. That impression was however incredible, and I observed that many of those who had highly exclaimed against his approach, were those that made the greatest noise against his retreat. It is not extraordinary that men should not know themselves; there are times where it may be said, that they have lost all feeling.

Upon the 20th, the President de Nesmond reported what had passed in the deputation sent to the king at Melun, and got his majesty's answer to be read to the company, the substance of which was: that though his majesty could not be ignorant that the demand which was made about the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, was no more than a pretence, he might perhaps be induced to grant a thing which the cardinal himself was every day pressing him to, (after having repaired his honour by such declarations as his innocence required) if his majesty was assured that he might have good and substantial sureties on the part of the princes, for the execution of what they had offered in case of that removal: that his majesty desired therefore to know:

1. Whether in that case they will renounce all manner of leagues and associations made with foreign princes?
2. Whether this will put an end to their pretensions?
3. Whether they will attend on his majesty?
4. Whether they will send back the foreigners that are in the kingdom?
5. Whether they will disband their forces?
6. Whether Bordeaux will submit to its duty, as well as the Prince of Conti, and Madam de Longueville?
7. Whether the places which the prince has fortified will be put into their first state?

These are the chief of the twelve questions, on which the Duke of Orleans spoke with a great deal of emotion, saying, that it was a thing unheard of that a son of France and a prince of the blood should be brought in this manner upon the stool to be asked questions, as if the declaration they both of them had made of laying down their arms as soon as Cardinal Mazarin should be out of the kingdom, was not more than sufficient to content the court, supposing that their intentions there were good. The company began to deliberate upon this, but they could not make an end, and so the deliberation was put off till the next day.

The duke not being able to come to the *Parlement* upon the 21st, by reason of a great fit of the cholick which he had had in the night, nothing was debated there in the presence of the prince, but how to find out a fund for the subsistance of the poor, who suffered very much in the city, and about raising the sum of 150,000 livres, which was the price set upon the cardinal's head. It was proposed about this last article to make with speed an inventory of what household goods were remaining, belonging to the cardinal. M. de Beaufort committed that day a blunder worthy of him. There having been in the morning a great

commotion in the palace yard, in which Messieurs Vassan and Partial would have been killed, if it had not been for him, he thought that the best way for diverting the mob from coming to the *Parlement*, was to assemble them at the Place-Royale, where he gave them a rendezvous for the afternoon. He gathered there four or five thousand beggars, to whom he made a kind of sermon, in which indeed he had no other end than to exhort them to the obedience which they owed to the *Parlement*. I was informed of all the particulars by persons whom I had sent thither on purpose, and who might be credited. Fear, which had already possessed most of the presidents and of the counsellors, made them believe that that assembly was intended only for their undoing. This fear redoubled at the speeches which they fancied that M. de Beaufort was making, and it became so great, that it was not in the power either of the duke or of the prince to remove it, and to oblige them to go to the *Parlement*. What happened that same day to the President de Maisons in the street called de Tournon, did not serve to raise their courage. He was very near being killed by a multitude of people as he was coming out of the duke's palace, and it was with a great deal of difficulty that the prince and M. de Beaufort could save him. What happened on this occasion shewed that M. de Beaufort was not aware that the assembling the mob together is always the putting them in a commotion. It appeared by experience to be so, for two or three days after his fine sermon, the sedition grew stronger than it had yet been; and the President de Novion was even pursued in the street, and ran the greatest risk possible.

On the 25th the princes declared in the assembly of the chambers, that as soon as the cardinal was out of the kingdom, they would faithfully execute all the articles which were asked of them in the king's answers, and would afterwards send deputies to conclude what should remain undone. Upon this the company gave out a decree, ordering that the deputies of the *Parlement* should immediately return to court to carry the princes' declaration to the king.

Not any of the presidents went to the *Parlement* on the 26th.

On the 27th the President de Novion went thither and gave out a decree against seditious persons.

The other sittings were spent in giving the necessary orders for the safety of the city, which occasioned no small trouble, those of the guards being themselves often enough the authors of the seditions. It is time to return to the war affairs.

The prince, who had had some fits of a tertian ague, went as far as Linard to meet his troops which were coming from Estampes; and as the court had in no manner of way observed what had been promised there in respect of the removing theirs from the neighbourhood of Paris, he thought not himself obliged to remove his, which made him post his small army at St. Cloud, a considerable post, because of the bridge, by means of which he might, in case of need, remove it wherever he pleased.

M. de Turenne, who was with the king's army about St. Denis, whither his majesty was likewise come in person to be nearer Paris; M. de Turenne, I say, built a bridge of boats at Epinal, with an intent to come and attack the enemy before they had time to retire. M. de Tavannes had notice given him of it, and sent the like to the prince, who came to his camp with all diligence. He marched off in the evening, and came towards Paris, intending to arrive at Charenton by break of day, to pass there the Marne, and take a post from whence he might not be dislodged. But M. de Turenne gave him not time to do it, for he attacked his rear-guard in the suburb of St. Denis. The prince lost there but a few men of the regiment of Conti, and he sent the Duke of Orleans word by the Count de Fiesque, that he might rely upon his reaching the suburb of St. Anthony, in which he should, he said, have more room to defend himself. It is on this occasion more than on any other, that I am sorry that the prince has not given me, as he had promised, an account of his actions. What he did that day was one of the finest of his whole life. I have heard from Lanques, who understood war affairs, and was with him all that day, though he was more discontented at him than all the world besides, that he shewed something in this occasion beyond human valour, and human capacity. I should be inexcusable if I undertook to give you the detail of the greatest and most heroick action in the world, from the memoirs that were published, which I have heard officers speak of with contempt. I shall only tell you, that after the most bloody and obstinate fight in the world, he saved his troops which were but a handful of men, though attacked by M. de Turenne, reinforced by the army of the Marshal de la Ferté. He lost there the Count de Bossu, a Fleming, la Roche-Giffart, Flammarin, and Lauresse of the house of Montmorency. Messieurs de la Rochefoucauld, de Tavannes, de Cogny, the Viscount de Melun, and the Chevalier de Forts were wounded there. On the king's side, Esclainvilliers was wounded, and Messieurs de St. Mégrin and de Mancini were killed. I cannot

express to you the duke's agitation all the time the fight lasted. All possible events filled up his thoughts for a while, and were succeeded, as is usual in such cases, by a view of all impossible events. Jouy, whom he sent seven times to me in less than three hours, told me that there were moments in which he was afraid that the city would revolt against him; and others, wherein he feared that it would declare too much for the prince. He sent persons unknown to see what was doing at my house, and nothing encouraged him thoroughly but the hearing that I had only my Switzer to guard my door. This I was told by Bruneau the next day, who concluded from it, that there was no great danger since I was no better guarded against it. Mademoiselle, who had done her utmost with the duke to oblige him to go into the street called St. Anthony, to cause the gate to be opened to the prince, who began to be extremely pressed in the suburb, took the resolution to go thither herself. She went into the Bastille, the entrance of which, Louvière,[1] out of respect, durst not refuse her. She caused the cannon to be fired upon the troops of the Marshal de la Ferté, which were advancing with a design to take in flank those of the prince. She afterwards harangued the guard that was at the gate of St. Anthony, which was opened to the prince, who entered the city with his army, of which the soldiers, though much disabled, appeared covered with more glory still than wounds. This famous fight happened upon July 2.

A general assembly at the Hôtel de Ville, ordered on July 1 by the *Parlement*, to advise about what was to be done for the safety of the city, was held there upon the 4th in the afternoon. Both the duke and the prince were there, upon pretence of thanking the city for giving entrance to their troops the day that the fight happened; but in reality, to engage the assembly to unite still more strictly with them. This was at least what the duke was made believe; but there was another design, which I heard not of till four or five years after, when the prince himself discovered it to me at Brussels. I do not precisely remember whether he confirmed to me a report very current among the publick, of an advice given him by M. de Bouillon, that the court would never think of a real accommodation with him, till they were convinced there that he was in effect master of Paris. I know that I inquired of him about the truth of that report, but I cannot recall to my memory what his answer was. This is what he discovered to me about his design.

[1] Son of Broussel, and governor of the Bastille.

He was persuaded that I did him great disservices with the duke, in which, as you have seen before, he was mistaken. But he was likewise persuaded that I did him a great deal of prejudice in the city, in which he was in the right. I have acquainted you with the reasons I had for acting so, in respect to him. The prince had observed that I stood in no manner upon my guard, and that I made use even with affectation of the pretence of marching incognito, to which the ceremonial obliged me, to shew the confidence and the trust which I reposed in the people's good will, in the midst of the greatest commotions. He resolved very prudently to make use of that confidence of mine, to execute one of the wisest and finest actions that had perhaps been imagined during that whole age. His design was to stir the people upon the morning of the day that the assembly was to be held at the Hôtel de Ville; to come directly to my house at ten in the morning, which was known to be just the hour that I had least company with me, because it was the time I commonly employed about my studies; to carry me away civilly in my coach out of the city; and to forbid me at the gate, in due form, to come into it again. I am conscious to myself that the game was sure, and that in the condition things were in, the same persons that had taken up arms for my defence, if they had had time to consider on it, had approved the thing after its execution; it being certain that in revolutions that are great enough to keep the multitude in suspence, those which get the start are always applauded, provided they succeed at first. I stood upon no manner of defence. The prince might have made himself master of the cloister without striking a blow; and I might have been carried to one of the city gates, before any alarm strong enough had been given to oppose it. Nothing could have been better imagined. The duke, who had been struck down with the thing, would have applauded it. The assembly at the Hôtel de Ville, whom the prince would have informed of it upon the spot, had trembled at it. The prince's civil manner of doing it had been both praised and admired. I had suffered by it a great loss of reputation, for keeping in a condition so defenceless, and I must have confessed myself to have been guilty of a great deal of temerity and of imprudence, not to have foreseen a thing so sensible. Fortune turned that fine design against the prince, and rendered it, by the event, as fatal as the blackest of all enterprizes could have been.

The commotion being begun towards the Place Dauphine, by forcing those that went by to put straw in their hats, M. de

Cumont, a counsellor of the *Parlement*, and a particular servant of the prince's, who had been obliged to do as the rest, went in great haste to give notice of this to the duke, and to intreat him to prevent the prince, who was in the gallery, from going out whilst that commotion lasted, which Cumont supposed, as he told the duke, to have been raised either by the Mazarinians, or by the Cardinal de Retz, for destroying the prince. At this the duke ran after his highness, who was going down the privy stairs, and who had his coach ready to come to my house and execute his design. The duke made use of his authority, and even of violence to keep him from going. He made him dine with him, and carried him after to the Hôtel de Ville, where the assembly was to be held. They staid there only to return their thanks to the company, and to represent the necessity there was of finding out means to defend themselves against Mazarin, after which they came away. The sight of a trumpeter, who arrived just at that time from the king with an order for the assembly to be put off for a week, provoked the people who were in the Grève, crying incessantly that the city ought to unite with the princes. Some officers, whom the prince had interspersed in the morning with the mob, not having received the orders they expected, were not able to stop their fury. The first object it threw itself upon, was the Hôtel de Ville. They shot at the windows; they set fire to the doors; they entered in, sword in hand. They massacred M. le Gras, a master of requests, and M. Miron, a master in the chamber of accounts, and one of the most honest men, and of the best credit with the people, that was in Paris. There were, besides, twenty-five or thirty citizens that perished in this occasion, and the Marshal de l'Hôpital escaped the danger but by a miracle, and by the help of the President Barentin. A young man of Paris named Noblet, of whom I have already spoken in relating the encounter I had with M. de la Rochefoucauld at the *Parlement*, had likewise the good luck to be serviceable to the marshal on this occasion. You may easily imagine what effect the Hôtel de Ville set on fire, and the blood shed, produced in Paris. The consternation was at first general there; all the shops were shut up in an instant. Things remained for a while in that state, and it was about six in the afternoon before the citizens awaked and came to themselves in some places, where they set up barricades to stop the seditious, who dispersed almost of themselves. Mademoiselle contributed however to it. She went herself accompanied by M. de Beaufort to the Grève, where she found some of them left, whom she drove away. These wretches shewed more

respect to her than to the host which the curate of St. John's presented to them, to oblige them to extinguish the fire which they had set to the Hôtel de Ville doors.

The Bishop of Chalons came to my house in the height of this commotion, the fear he had for my person being stronger than that he shewed for his own in a conjuncture where nobody without exception could reckon themselves safe in walking the streets. He found me so little precautioned against the danger, that he made me ashamed of it, and I cannot conceive even at this time what could oblige me to be so careless on an occasion in which I had, or at least might have, so great a need to look to myself. This has persuaded me, as much as any other thing in the world, that men are often valued for actions which they ought the most to be blamed for. The publick praised my firmness, when it ought to have blamed my imprudence. This last was real, the other was only imaginary. The truth is, that I had made no manner of reflection upon the danger which I began to be sensible of as soon as I was made to perceive it. M. de Caumartin sent at that instant to his house for a thousand pistoles, with which I made some soldiers, for he found me without money. I joined them to some Scottish officers which I had always preserved out of my Lord Montrose's leavings. The Marquis de Sablière, colonel of the regiment of Valois, furnished me with a hundred of his best soldiers, commanded by two captains of his regiment who were domesticks of mine. Quérieux brought me thirty gens d'armes out of the company which he commanded, and Bussy-Lamet forty chosen men out of the garrison of Mézières. I furnished all my house and all the towers of Nôtre-Dame with grenades. I took some measures, in case of an attack, with the men of the Ponts of Nôtre-Dame and St. Michael, who were mighty well affected to me. In fine, I put myself in a condition to dispute the ground, and to be no more exposed to any insults.

This conduct appeared wiser than the blind security in which I had been for some time. And yet it was not so in effect, compared at least with that which I should have followed, had I been capable of minding only my own interest, by taking hold of the opportunity which fortune presented me with. There was nothing more natural, both in respect to my profession, and to the condition I was in, than to leave Paris after a commotion which threw the publick hatred upon a party that appeared at that time the most opposite to me. I had not lost by it those that were my friends among the Frondeurs, because they had looked

upon my retreat as upon a resolution to which I was brought by necessity. I should insensibly have reconciled myself with those who were lovers of peace, who could hardly have refused to take my part, because they had looked on me as on one that was exiled for a cause which they had themselves espoused. The duke could not have complained of me for abandoning a place in which it appeared he was no longer master. Cardinal Mazarin had himself been obliged in that case, both in respect to decency and to interest, to preserve measures with me; and it was even naturally impossible but that the court's animosity against me must have diminished considerably, by a conduct that would have much contributed to blacken that of its enemies. My retreat might have been attended with circumstances which would have easily prevented my sharing the publick hatred which was borne against Mazarin. In order to that, my business would have only been to retire into the country of Retz, without going to court; and that would have even cleared me from the suspicion of Mazarinianism, for the time past. In that manner I had got off from the daily trouble in which I was, and from that which I foresaw for the future, without seeing in what other manner I could ever be able to disentangle myself from it. In that manner I had patiently awaited what it had pleased providence to order in relation to the fate of the two parties, without running any of the risks which I was at every instant exposed to from both sides. In that manner I had appropriated to myself the love of the publick, which the horror that is conceived against any violent action, never fails to bestow upon him that suffers. In that manner I had found myself, at the end of the troubles, a cardinal, and Archbishop of Paris, driven away from his see by the party which had publickly joined with the Spaniards, cleared of the faction by my retreat from Paris, and cleared of Mazarinianism by my retreat from court; and the very worst that could have happened to me from this, was to have been sacrificed by the two parties, in case of a reconcilement and an union against me, and to have been sent as ambassador to Rome, which employment they would have been glad at heart to make me accept of, even upon my own terms, and which to a cardinal, Archbishop of Paris, can never be a burthen, because there are a thousand occasions in which he may always find room to leave it. I had all these views in my thoughts, greater still, and more extensive than I have set them down here. I stood in no manner of doubt but that they were right and good. And yet I resolved, without hesitating in the least, not to follow them. The interest of my

friends, who fancied that I might at last find in the chapter of accidents room to serve and to prefer them, made me immediately consider that they would complain of me if I followed a way that got me out of trouble, and left them in it. I have never repented my shewing a greater regard for their interests than for my own. This conduct was indeed supported by my pride, that could hardly have suffered that the publick should have thought that I had yielded meanly to the prince. I reproach myself with these sentiments, which were however of great weight with me at that time. They were both imprudent and weak; for I affirm that there is as much weakness as imprudence in sacrificing a great and solid interest to punctilios of glory which is always a vain-glory, when it hinders us from doing things greater than those it proposes. We must own ingenuously that nothing but experience can teach men not to prefer what tickles them for the present, to what would afterwards afford them a much more real pleasure: I have made that observation an infinite number of times. I return to the *Parlement*.

I will acquaint you in few words with what passed there from the 4th to the 13th of July. It had indeed but a very melancholy aspect, all the presidents *à mortier* and a great many counsellors having absented themselves for fear of the seditions, which the fire and massacre at the Hôtel de Ville had not diminished. This solitude obliged those that were present there to put out a decree forbidding that any one should forsake his post, to which decree little notice was paid. The assemblies at the Hôtel de Ville were for the same reason likewise very thin. The Prévôt-des-Marchands, who had saved his life meerly by a miracle, the day of the massacre, had ceased to assist there. The Marshal de l'Hôpital kept close and private at home. The Duke of Orleans, in a very thin assembly, got chosen in their place, M. de Beaufort for governor of Paris, and M. Broussel for Prévôt-des-Marchands. The *Parlement* ordered their deputies who were at St. Denis to press the court for an answer; and in case they could obtain none to come back to their seats in *Parlement* in three days' time.

Upon the 13th the deputies wrote a letter to the company, to whom they sent the king's answer in writing. It contained in substance: That although his majesty had room enough to believe that the instances made for the removal of Cardinal Mazarin were nothing else but pretences, he was willing to give the cardinal leave to retire from court, after the necessary things for the establishing the publick quiet had been settled, both with the deputies of the *Parlement*, as likewise with those whom the

princes would be pleased to send. The duke, as well as the prince, who had found out that the cardinal never proposed any conferences, but with a design to discredit them with the publick, exclaimed at this proposal, the duke saying warmly that it was only a trap laid for them, because neither he nor the prince had any need to send deputies in their own names, confiding altogether, as they did, in those which the *Parlement* had sent. The decree that was given upon this was conformable to the duke's speech; and it ordered their deputies to continue their instances for the removal of the cardinal. The princes wrote likewise to the President de Nesmond to assure him that they would continue firm to their resolution of laying down their arms as soon as the cardinal should be effectually removed.

Upon the 17th the deputies sent word to the *Parlement* that the king had left St. Denis to go to Pontoise; that he had commanded them to follow him, but that upon their making a difficulty of it, he had ordered them to remain at St. Denis.

Upon the 18th they acquainted the company that they had received a new order from his majesty, commanding them to go to Pontoise. The company grew very warm at this, and gave out a decree whereby it was ordered that their deputies should return immediately to Paris. The Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, and M. de Beaufort, went out themselves with twelve hundred horse to fetch them back, to shew the people the great danger they rescued them from.

The court were not idle on their side. The privy-council there was every day issuing out decrees which annulled those of the *Parlement*. They declared null and void all that had been done, that was doing, and that should be afterwards done, in the assemblies at the Hôtel de Ville; and even ordered that the money appropriated for the payment of the Hôtel de Ville rents, should for the future be brought only to the places where his majesty should reside.

The President de Nesmond reported to the company upon the 19th what he and the other deputies had done at court. This report, which was filled up with objections and answers, contained in effect no more than what you have seen before, except an article of a letter written by M. Servien to the deputies, importing that in case that the duke and the prince continued to make a difficulty of sending deputies in their own name, his majesty consented that they should trust those of the *Parlement* with their intentions. There were assurances in that same letter that the king should remove the cardinal from his councils, a

soon as the articles that might be disputed in the conference should be agreed upon, and that he would not even stay to do it till they were executed. The company began a deliberation upon this, which was not ended till the 20th. It was then declared that the king being detained prisoner by Cardinal Mazarin, the Duke of Orleans should be desired to take upon him the quality of lieutenant-general to his majesty, and that the Prince of Condé should be invited to take in hand the command of the armies for so long as the cardinal should remain in France; that a copy of this decree should be sent to all the *Parlements* in the kingdom, who should be desired to give one in conformity to it. The other *Parlements* had no regard to that prayer, for excepting that of Bordeaux, there was not one which did so much as put the matter into deliberation: contrary to it, that of Britanny had suspended all the decrees they had before put out, till the Spanish troops that were entered into France had intirely evacuated the kingdom. The duke was not better hearkened to in respect of the letters he wrote to all the governors of provinces about his new dignity; and he plainly owned to me some time after, that not one of them, excepting M. de Sourdis, had answered his letters. The court had given them notice of their duty by a publick decree given by the upper council, annulling that of the *Parlement* which invested the duke with his new dignity. His authority in respect to it was not so much as established in Paris, at least in the manner it ought to have been; for two wretches having been condemned to be hanged on the 23rd for setting fire to the Hôtel de Ville, the companies of trained bands that were ordered to see the thing done, refused to obey.

A general assembly was ordered to be at the Hôtel de Ville upon the 24th, to advise about the means of finding money for the subsistence of the troops, and of selling the statues that were at the cardinal's palace, for a fund to pay the price set upon the cardinal's head.

Upon the 26th the duke said in the assembly of the chambers, that his new dignity of lieutenant-general requiring that he should have a council to advise with, he desired that company to name two of their own body to be of that board, and that they would likewise tell him whether they did not approve that he should desire the chancellor to assist there. The company agreed to it; and even M. Bignon, advocate-general and the Cato of his age, did not oppose it; for he said in his conclusions, which were admired for their strength and eloquence, that the *Parlement* had not given the duke the quality of lieutenant-general; but

that he might take it of himself in the present conjuncture, as belonging to him by right of his birth, which naturally established him the first magistrate of the kingdom. In proof of this he mentioned Henry the Great, who being first prince of the blood, had taken that quality upon him in a discourse he made in the time of the troubles.

The council for the duke was settled on the 27th, and was composed of the duke himself, of the Prince of Condé, of Messieurs de Beaufort, de Nemours, de Sully, de Brissac, de la Rochefoucauld, and de Rohan; of the presidents de Nesmond and de Longueil; of Aubry, and l'Archer, presidents in the chamber of accounts, and of Dorieux and le Noir, presidents in the court of aids.

It was resolved on the 29th at the Hôtel de Ville, to raise 800,000 livres for increasing the troops of his royal highness, and to write to all the great cities of the kingdom to exhort them to unite with the capital. The king failed not to annull, by decrees of his privy-council, all those of the *Parlement*, and all the deliberations at the Hôtel de Ville assembly.

I think I have acquitted myself exactly of my promise of troubling you but little with my reflections upon all that passed in the time I have spoken of, and which I have rather touched upon than described. It is not, as you will easily judge, for want of matter, and it is hardly possible to find any, that better deserves to be reflected upon, and that would furnish more reflections. The events are in themselves odd, and uncommon; but as I was not an actor in them, and that I was even but a remote spectator, I fear that if I should enter too far into the detail, I might with my views mix likewise my conjectures; and I have so many times experienced that those that appear the best grounded are often false, that I think them for that reason unworthy of a history, and chiefly of one which is written for a person to whom I ought upon so many accounts to say nothing but what is entirely and incontestably true. I will however venture two reflections, which I take to be altogether of that kind.

The one is, that though I cannot explain in particular to you the several springs that gave motion to what you have seen lately acted, because I had no hand in it, I can assure you that the only one which caused the duke to act so pitifully, was his being persuaded, that everything running at random as it did, the only way was always to follow the stream: and that the only reason which obliged the prince to act as he did, was his aversion to a

civil war, which fomented and even renewed at every instant, in the most secret recesses of his heart, the hopes he had of putting quickly an end to it by way of negotiation. You must observe that these movements in the princes had never any intermission; and though I have already mentioned them in particular as the causes of several of their actions which I have explained, I think it is in some measure necessary to mention them again in general, in the course of a narration that presents you at each instant with incidents of which you would without doubt be willing to know the reasons, which I am forced to omit because I know nothing of the particulars.

I have already told you that I had tired the duke out with my monosyllables, which I made use of designedly, and which I left off meerly on account of his new dignity of lieutenant-general to the king. I opposed it with all my power, because he forced me to give him my opinion about it. I treated it as an odious, a pernicious, and an useless thing, and I explained myself upon it in so clear and plain a manner, as to tell him that I should be extremely sorry that all the world should not be apprized of my sentiments in that respect, and that anybody should believe that those of the *Parlement* over whom I had any power, should be capable of giving their vote for it. I was in that as good as my word, and even M. de Caumartin signalized himself in opposing it. I thought myself obliged to follow that conduct, in respect to the king, to the kingdom, and even to the duke himself. I was convinced, as I am still, that the same reasons which allow in some cases a dispensation from a rigid obedience, will ever disallow the usurpation of a title, which in respect to royal authority is a thing most essential. To tell you the truth, I acted in this manner because I found myself in a condition to maintain, not only my words, but likewise my steps. The posture in which I had kept myself since the events at the Hôtel de Ville, had seized upon the imagination of people, and had made them believe that I was much stronger than I was in reality. Such a belief is enough to increase one's strength. I had experienced it, and had found the advantage of using it, as well as of the other means which I met with in abundance in the disposition in which Paris was. That city was every day growing more and more exasperated at the party of the princes, by reason of the taxes with which it was threatened, the killing in the Hôtel de Ville which had filled all people's minds with horrour, and of the pillage made by the troops, which since the fight at the suburbs of St. Antoine were incamped in the suburbs of St. Victor,

where they committed disorders hardly credible. I made use of all those outrages, which I took care to represent in a manner that rendered me very agreeable to all that blamed them; and in that manner I was bringing again over to me all the lovers of peace that were not professedly attached to the cardinal. In following that way my success was such, that I found myself in a condition to dispute the ground with everybody, and that after having kept three weeks at my house on the defensive, in the cautious manner which I have mentioned, I came out of it with a mighty pomp, notwithstanding the Romish ceremonial. I went every day to the duke's palace, and I passed in the midst of the troops which the prince had in the suburb, not doubting but that I might confide enough in the people to use that conduct safely, in which the event at least shewed that I was not mistaken. I return to the *Parlement*.

Upon August 6, Buchefert, substitute to the attorney-general, brought to the assembly of the chambers two letters of the king, one directed to the company, and the other to the President de Nesmond, with a declaration from his majesty supporting the removal of the *Parlement* to Pontoise. They had taken that resolution at court after they had found that their stay at St. Denis had not prevented *Parlement* or Hôtel de Ville from taking the steps which you have seen. This news put the chambers into a mighty commotion. The company went on to deliberate, and it was resolved that the letters and the declaration should be kept at the Rolls, to be duly considered after the cardinal should be removed out of France. The *Parlement* of Pontoise, which consisted of fourteen persons, at the head of which were the Presidents Molé, Novion, and le Cogneux, who some time before were got out of Paris in disguise, made remonstrances to the king tending to the removal of Cardinal Mazarin. His majesty granted their demands, at the instance even of that good and disinterested minister, who in effect left the court and retired to Bouillon. This farce, very unworthy of the royal majesty, was accompanied with everything that might render it still more ridiculous. The two *Parlements* of Paris and of Pontoise issued edicts in which they thundered at one another.

Upon August 13, that of Paris ordered that those who should assist at the assembly at Pontoise should be razed out of their list and register.

Upon the 17th that of Pontoise verified the king's declaration, enjoining to the *Parlement*, to the chamber of accounts, and to the court of aids, that considering the removal of Cardinal

Mazarin, they should declare their readiness of laying down their arms, provided his majesty was pleased to grant an amnesty, to remove his troops from the neighbourhood of Paris, to cause those which were in Guienne to retire, to let the Spanish troops retire in safety, and to give the princes leave to send to his majesty about adjusting what matters remained yet unsettled. That *Parlement* gave afterwards a decree whereby they ordered to return thanks to his majesty for removing the cardinal, and to entreat him most humbly to return to his good city of Paris.

Upon the 26th the king caused the *Parlement* at Pontoise to verify the amnesty which he gave to those who had taken up arms against him, but with such restrictions that but few persons could find their safety in it.

Upon the 29th and 31st of August, and upon the 2nd of September, nothing hardly was spoken of in the assembly of the chambers at Paris, but of the refusal which the court had made to the princes of the passes which they had asked for the Marshal d'Estampes, the Count de Fiesque, and Goulas; and of the king's answer to a letter of the Duke of Orleans to his majesty. The substance of that answer was: That his majesty wondered that the duke had not considered that after the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, he had nothing else to do, according to his promise and to his declaration, than to lay down his arms, to renounce all manner of associations and treaties, and to cause the foreign troops to retire: after which acts the duke's messengers would be very welcome.

Upon September 2, that answer of the king's was examined, but the company had not time to finish their deliberation. All that they resolved upon, was that both the civil and criminal judges of the city of Paris should be forbidden to publish any declaration from the king, without the *Parlement's* order. The company came to that resolution upon notice given them that these two judges had received the king's command to publish and set up in the city, the amnesty that had been verified at Pontoise.

Upon the 3rd the company finished their deliberation upon the king's answer to the Duke of Orleans's letter. It was agreed that the company should send deputies to the king, to return him thanks for the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, and to entreat him to return to his good city of Paris: that the Duke of Orleans and the prince should be desired to write to the king, to assure his majesty that they would lay down their arms as soon as it

had pleased him to send the necessary passes for the retreat of the foreign troops, and an amnesty in due form verified by all the *Parlements* of France: that his majesty should be entreated to receive the deputies of the princes: that the chamber of accounts and the court of aids of Paris, should be invited to send deputies: that a general assembly should be held at the Hôtel de Ville; and that letters should be written to the President de Mesme, who was likewise retired to Pontoise, desiring him to sollicit for the passes.

Give me leave, I beseech you, to make a pause here, in order to consider with some attention the scandalous and continual illusion with which a minister makes a real jest of the sacred name and word of a great king, and with which, on the other side, the most august *Parlement* of the kingdom, the court of peers, are in a manner making fools of themselves, by acting perpetually in a contradictory manner, more like the levity of a college, than the majesty of a senate. I have sometimes told you that men have no feeling of themselves in these sorts of fevers that agitate a state and have something of a frenzy in them. I knew at that time some honest persons who were persuaded of the justice of the princes' cause, enough to have died for it, if it had been necessary. I knew others of a disinterested and consummate virtue, that would have laid down their lives with joy to have defended the cause of the court. The ambition of great men makes use of these dispositions as it suits with their interest. They are first a help to blind the rest of mankind, after which they blind themselves in a more dangerous manner than they have done others.

Old M. de Fontenay, who had been twice ambassador at Rome, who was a man of good sense and of experience, and whose intentions for the state were right and sincere, deplored every day with me the lethargy into which domestick divisions cause even the best citizens to fall.

As to our foreign war, the archduke retook that year Gravelines and Dunkirk. Cromwell, without any declaration of war, and with an insolence injurious to our crown, took, under I do not know what pretext of reprisal, a great part of the king's ships. We lost Barcelona, all Catalonia, and Casal the key of Italy. We saw Brisach under a revolt, upon the point of falling again into the hands of the house of Austria. We saw Spanish colours and standards displayed upon the Pont-Neuf. The yellow scarves of Lorrain appeared in Paris with the same freedom as the cream and blue ones. People were using themselves to these

spectacles, and to the mournful news of so many losses. This habit which carried terrible consequences along with it, frightened me, and certainly much more for the state than for my person. M. de Fontenay, who was touched to the quick with it, and who was even moved to see me so much concerned, exhorted me to awake from my lethargy; "in which," said he, "you are yourself after your own mode. For in short," continued he, "if you have no regard but to your own self, you have chosen the right way. But if you consider upon the condition of this capital city, to which you are attached upon so many accounts, do not you think yourself obliged to bestir yourself more than you do? You are moved by no private interest, your intentions are good: must you, by remaining inactive, cause the state as much harm as others do by their most irregular motions?" M. de Sève Chatignonville, whom you have seen since of the king's council, who was my very particular friend and a gentleman of great probity, had been making me the like instances even with eagerness, for five or six weeks before. M. de Lamoignon, who is now first president of the *Parlement* of Paris, and who from his youth has had all the reputation which his great capacity, joined to a virtue nothing inferior to it, has justly deserved, was every day speaking to me after the same manner. M. de Valençay, counsellor of state, who came not near the others in capacity, but who was, like them, colonel of his ward, came to me every Sunday morning, whispering in my ear: "Save the state, save the city; I do but wait for your orders." M. des Roches, chanter of Nôtre-Dame, who was colonel of the cloister, a man of little sense but whose intentions were good, came two or three times a week to shed tears with me on the same account. What touched me more sensibly than all the rest, was a discourse of M. de Lamoignon, whose good sense I valued as much as his probity. "I see, sir," (said he one day as he was walking with me in my chamber) "that with the most upright intentions in the world you are falling from the love of the publick into the publick hatred. The minds of the people, which in the beginning were all for you, have for some time been divided. You have regained ground by your enemies' faults: I see that you begin to lose it again. The Frondeurs believe that you support Mazarin, and the Mazarinians that you support the Frondeurs. I know that this is not true, and I even judge that it cannot be true; but what makes me afraid for you, is that it begins to be believed by a sort of persons whose opinion always forms in time the publick reputation. These persons are those who are neither Frondeurs nor

Mazarinians, and who have nothing but the good of the state in view. This sort of persons can do nothing in the beginning of the troubles; they can do all towards the end." Nothing can be fuller of sense, as you see, than this discourse; but as there was nothing in it altogether new to me, and that I had many times before made reflections that came at last very near it, it made not near so much impression on me, as what he added at last. "These conjunctures," said he, "are very odd. A wise man ought to extricate himself out of them, with all manner of haste and even with loss, because let him govern himself never so wisely, he must, so long as he remains in that state, run the risk of losing all his honour. I doubt much whether the Constable de St. Paul was as guilty, and had as bad intentions, as we are told." These last words, which shewed a right and a profound sense, went the deeper in me, because Father dom Carouges, a Carthusian whom I had been to see the day before in his cell, had said to me in relation to the conduct which I followed: "It is so clear, it is so great, that all those who would not be capable of it in the post in which you are, fancy that there is a mystery in it: and in troublesome and unhappy times, all that passes for mysterious is odious." I will give you an account of the effect which all these discourses had upon my mind, after I have mentioned, as briefly as ever I can, some matters that deserve to be remembered.

I have already told you that the king, after having settled his *Parlement* at Pontoise, was gone to Compiègne. He could not take along with him M. de Bouillon, who died about that time [1] of a continual fever; but he ordered the lord chancellor to come to him, that gentleman having got away from Paris in disguise, because he chose rather to be of the king's council than of the duke's, in which indeed he might if he pleased have found room enough not to have accepted a place. Nothing but his weakness can excuse a step of this nature, in a chancellor of France: but I am no less persuaded that nothing but the weakness of the government under Cardinal Mazarin, could have restored to the head of all the council-boards and of all the courts of justice in the kingdom, a chancellor who had been capable of taking such a step. One of the greatest evils which the ministry of Cardinal Mazarin has brought upon the kingdom, is his little care of preserving the dignity of that post. The contempt he shewed for it was attended with success, and that success is a greater evil even than the first, because it serves as a cover and a palliative to the inconveniencies which sooner or later will in-

[1] The Duke de Bouillon died at Pontoise on August 9, 1652.

fallibly happen to the state, by reason of that contempt which is now turned into an habit.

It was with a difficulty that the queen, who was naturally haughty, could resolve upon recalling the chancellor. But she was forced to submit to the cardinal, who was the master, and to that degree that when he took a fancy for M. de Bouillon, into whose hands he even intrusted the finances, he answered the queen, who advised him not to confide in such a sort of a man: "It is pretty indeed, madam, to see that you take upon you to advise me." I was informed of this particular three days after by Varennes, who had it from M. de Bouillon himself.

I ought not to omit here the death of M. de Nemours, who was killed in a duel by M. de Beaufort. You may remember what I have told you of their quarrel at Orleans, which was revived by their disputing who should have the precedency at the duke's council. M. de Nemours forced in a manner M. de Beaufort to fight: he was killed upon the spot by a pistol shot in the head. M. de Villars, whom you know, was his second, and he killed Héricourt, M. de Beaufort's second and lieutenant of his guards. I return to the Duke of Orleans.

You easily judge that the disorders of Paris did not contribute to put his court in good order. The death of M. de Vallois,[1] which happened on St. Lawrence's day, filled that court with grief, which is always attended with consternation, at a time full of trouble and uncertainties. His royal highness was besides touched to the quick by an advice which he received just at that time from Madam de Choisy, of a negotiation of M. de Chavigny's with the court, of which I will by and by give you the particulars. This, added to the news which he received from all parts, and which was bad enough in relation to the party, put him in a greater agitation still than he was naturally. Persan had been obliged to surrender Mouron to Palluau, who was made a marshal of France after that expedition. The Count d'Harcourt had had almost all along the advantage in Guienne, and Bordeaux itself was divided into so many foolish parties that one could hardly rely upon it. Marigny used to say pleasantly enough, that the Princess of Condé and Madam de Longueville, the Prince of Conti, Marsin, the *Parlement*, the aldermen, and the army, Marigny and Sarrasin, had each of them their factions there. He had begun to write a satire after the manner of that which was written in the time of the league, upon all that he had seen transacting there, which gave a very ridiculous idea of it. I am not

[1] Son of the Duke of Orleans.

enough acquainted with the particulars of that piece to bring it here as an entertainment for you. All that I can say about it is, that what the duke had heard of it, did not help to quiet his mind in the agitation he was in, nor to persuade him that the party in which he was engaged was a good one.

Providence which by secret springs, unknown even to those that give them a motion, disposes means to their end, made use of the exhortations of the gentlemen whom I have named, to induce me to change my conduct, just at the time that it found the duke disposed to change his, and to be led by me in the manner I should direct him. The greatest difficulty was to persuade me to alter my steps. For though I had in reality no intentions but what were very right and sincere towards the state; and though I desired only to come off with some sort of honour, I was willing however to preserve a certain decorum which it was very hard to hit rightly on in the present conjuncture. I agreed with these gentlemen that it was shameful to remain idle, and to suffer the capital city, and perhaps the whole kingdom, to perish: but they likewise agreed with me, that so great a change as the contributing to the restoration of a minister odious to the whole kingdom, and in whose removal I had so much distinguished myself, would not be much to my honour. There was no room for any of us to doubt but that every step we should take towards a peace, would infallibly, though indirectly, produce that effect; because we could not be ignorant that that restoration was the only thing the queen had in view. M. de Fontenay convinced me at last, in a conversation we had together as we were walking one afternoon at the Charter-house. "You see," said he to me, "that Mazarin is but a sort of a jack in a box, who is one day hiding himself, and shewing himself the next: but you see likewise that whether he keeps hid or shews himself, the spring that makes him appear or disappear is that of the royal authority, which is not like to be so soon broken, considering the manner which is taken to break it. Even many of those that have appeared the most opposite to Mazarin, would be very sorry to see him destroyed. Many others will be very easily comforted to see him saved. There is not one that goes in earnest about ruining him thoroughly, and you yourself, sir, do it but weakly, because you meet with a great many occasions, in which the terms you are upon with the prince do not give you leave to act against the court so freely and so fully as you would do. From this I conclude that it is impossible that the cardinal should not be restored, either by a negotiation with the prince, who will

carry the duke along with him whenever he pleases to come to an accommodation with the court; or by the weariness of the people, who perceive already but too clearly that those of the party of the princes understand neither how to make war nor how to make peace. In both these cases, which I look upon to be inevitable, you must be a great loser. For if you do not get out of the briars before the war ends by an accommodation between the prince and the court, it will be hard for you to disintangle yourself from an intrigue in which both the court and the prince will certainly think of ruining you. If the peace proceeds from the weariness of the people, will you be anything the better for it? And may not that weariness, which always carries with it the hatred of the people against those who have been the most stirring during the faction, alter its course and fall heavy upon you for your prudent way of keeping quiet, as you have done for some time? These are, in my opinion, the inconveniencies which you may foresee, but which you cannot avoid, except you do it before the civil war ceases by one of the two means which I have spoken of. I know that the engagements you are in with the duke, and even with the publick, in relation to Mazarin, do not permit you to do anything towards his restoration, and you know that for that reason I have declined proposing anything to you so long as he has kept at court. He is now removed from it, and though that removal be only a jest and an illusion, it opens however a door to you to enter into measures which will naturally prove useful to you. Paris, though in rebellion, passionately wishes for the king's presence, and those that shall take the first steps towards procuring it, will gain thereby the affections of the people. I own that in this the people do not consider what they are wishing for, the king's presence being likely to bring hither Mazarin the sooner.

"But however, they wish for that presence, and Mazarin being removed from court, those that are the first to sollicit it, will not pass for Mazarinians. This entirely does your business; for being guided by no private interest, and wishing at the bottom nothing but the good of the kingdom, and the preservation of your credit with the people, you do the one without obstructing the other. I confess that if it was in your power to prevent Mazarin's being restored, the way I propose would agree neither with politicks nor morality, considering that his being restored ought to be looked upon, for an infinite number of reasons, as a publick calamity. But taking it for granted, as you yourself do, that the ill conduct of his enemies makes his restoration inevitable, I can-

not conceive why the view of a thing which you cannot prevent, should prevent your getting out of the trouble you are in, by a door which opens to you a way to honour and liberty. Paris, of which you are archbishop, groans under its load; the *Parlement* is now but a meer phantom; the Hôtel de Ville is a desert; the duke and the prince are masters only during the pleasure of those of the mob that are the maddest; the Spaniards, the Germans, those of Lorrain, are in our suburbs and pillage our very gardens. You that are the pastor of this city, and that have been its deliverer in two or three occasions, have been obliged to guard yourself in your own house for three weeks together, and you know that even at this day your friends are concerned when you walk the streets without being armed. Do you reckon the putting an end to all this misery to be nothing? And will you miss the only moment which providence offers you for putting an end gloriously to it? The cardinal, who loves to disappoint people, may come back to court when he is least expected; and if that should happen, the way I propose would be more impracticable to you than to any man alive. Do not therefore lose moments that ought for a contrary reason to be more precious to you than to any other man. Take your clergy along with you; go to Compiègne; return your thanks to his majesty for the removal of Mazarin; invite him to return to his capital city; act in concert with the gentlemen of the several chambers, that are wishing only for the good of the kingdom, who are most of them already your particular friends, and who look already upon you by your dignity as their most natural chief, on an occasion which is so becoming and so proper to your character. If the king comes back to town, the people of Paris will owe his return to you; if he refuses to come, they will however think themselves obliged to you for your good intentions. If you can but bring the duke to approve of this, you save the whole state, because I am persuaded that if he knew but how to act his part well on this occasion, he would bring the king back to Paris, and keep Mazarin from ever returning thither. But supposing that he should return in some time, you may prevent the risk which I perceive you are in fear of, by reason of the people's reproaching you about it, by the employment at Rome which I have heard you several times say that you would sooner resolve to accept than the having anything to do here with him.

"You are a cardinal; you are Archbishop of Paris; you have the love of the publick; you are but thirty-seven years old; save this city, save the state." This is the substance of what M.

de Fontenay said to me with a rapidity quite opposite to his natural coldness, and it is certain that it moved me; for though he said nothing which I had not already thought upon, as you have seen by the reflections I made when the Hôtel de Ville was set on fire, I felt however a greater emotion at his representing it to me, than at what I had said to myself about it, or what I had heard from others on the same subject.

This deputation of the clergy had been for some time before in agitation between M. de Caumartin and me, and we had often been examining both the manner of performing it and the consequences it might have. I must do M. Joly the justice to say that he was the first that thought of it, immediately after Cardinal Mazarin's leaving the court. We all of us together added to the substance of the thing the circumstances which we thought the most useful and the most necessary. The first and in every respect the most important, was to bring the duke to approve at least this conduct; and the disposition which I have already told you he was in, gave us room to believe that we might succeed in our attempt with him. I made use for that effect of the reasons which I knew he would like best among those which M. de Fontenay had mentioned to me. I added to them the advantages which he would himself reap by procuring to the *Parlement* and to the city an amnesty, good, sincere, and not fallacious, which he would certainly obtain if he shewed the court a sincere desire of an accommodation. I represented to him that his retreat to Blois, which he had for so long a time wished for, being preceded by his care of seeking in the peace the sureties necessary both to the publick and to every one in particular, could not but be glorious to him, and would so much the more appear so, that it would be looked upon only as the effect of his firm resolution of having no manner of hand in restoring the minister: that my retreat to Rome, which I had resolved to make before the coming back of the cardinal, might be attributed to necessity, because many persons would believe that I should be forced to it by the fear of finding no safety for me after his being restored: that he was by his birth above such talk and such suspicions; and that if he did for the publick before his retreat, what he might certainly do easily with the court, he would remain at Blois, attended but with a very few guards, cherished, respected, and honoured, both by Frenchmen and foreigners, and would be even in a condition to take advantage for the good of the state whenever he pleased, of all the faults of the several parties.

I must desire you to observe that at the time that I spoke to

the duke in this manner, I was informed by a good hand that five or six days before my last conversation with him he had been under an apprehension that I should reconcile myself to the prince. He had said enough, though indirectly, in that conversation, to let me perceive the fear he was in. But Jouy, to whom he had made a full confidence of it, upon some advice or other which he had had that M. de Brissac was again busy about it, had told me that the duke had cried out: "If that be true, the civil war is to last for ever." You may be sure that this circumstance did not deter me from trying him, of which I had no reason to repent, for as soon as I had opened the matter to him, he came of himself into everything I said. He rallied me upon my ceasing to speak nothing but monosyllables, which was a certain sign with him that he approved of what I said. He afterwards added to my reasons others of his own, which was another convincing sign of his being pleased. Then in a seeming surprize, as if some sudden thought had but just entered his head, which was always his way, chiefly when he had the thing in his head before; he said to me: "But what shall we do with the prince?" I answered him: "Your royal highness, sir, ought to consider upon what terms you are with him, for honour is preferable to everything. But as I have reason to think that the several negotiations that are on foot, are made in common between you two, I suppose that there may be the like understanding between you in this matter, as there has been in all the rest." "I find you jest," replied the duke; "but I am not so much embarrassed upon this subject as you believe. The prince is more impatient to be out of Paris than you can be; and he would rather be in the forest of Ardennes at the head of four squadrons, than to command millions of such people as we have here, without excepting the President Charton." What the duke said was true, and Croissy, who was one of the men in the world the least capable of keeping a secret, (a defect pretty rare among persons used to great affairs) was every day telling me that the prince was consuming with grief, and was so weary of the *Parlement*, the court of aids, the assemblies of chambers, and the Hôtel de Ville, that he often said that his grandfather had never been more so with the ministers of la Rochelle.

I found however by what the duke said to me, that he was seeking for reasons that might satisfy him, in relation to the prince. But for my own satisfaction I affected to furnish him with none, nor to help him to find out any. I kept myself tied up to my monosyllables upon that particular point, though the

duke did what he could to make me speak more at large, not only upon that subject, but likewise upon the several negotiations which right or wrong were always reported to be on foot. All that I did with the duke was the receiving his orders about my going to wait on the king, which I was forced to digest myself, and to put into a form; this is the substance of what I wrote down. The duke commanded me to make a general assembly of all ecclesiastical societies, and to cause deputies to be named out of each; to go myself at the head of that deputation to intreat his majesty to give peace to his people, and to return to his good city of Paris; to try, by means of my friends, to oblige other bodies and corporations to send deputies to the same effect; to let the court know by means of the Princess Palatine (but without sending any letter, that might at least be shewn) that his royal highness had been the first promoter of this deputation; to enter however into no particulars relating to a negotiation, till I was myself at Compiègne, where I should tell the queen that it was visible that the duke would not cause, or even suffer the steps that were now taken by the several bodies of the city, except his intentions were very right and very sincere; that he was for a peace, and was so from the bottom of his heart; that his publick engagements against Cardinal Mazarin had not given him leave to conclude it, or even to begin it, so long as he staid at court; but now that he was gone from it, he passionately wished to convince her majesty that nothing but that obstacle had prevented his going heartily about that work: that he made use of me to declare to her majesty that he renounced all personal interest, either in respect to himself or to any of his party; that all he asked was in respect only to the publick safety, which might be done by explaining only some articles of the amnesty, and giving a form to the whole, which would prove by the event to be as much for the service of the king, as for the satisfaction of particular persons; that as soon as he had had the pleasure to see the king at the Louvre, he would retire to Blois with as much joy as readiness, with an intent to think upon nothing else than to live quiet, and to mind the good of his soul; and that all that should be done afterwards at court should be no longer upon his account, provided they would be pleased not to charge him with it, but would leave him in his solitude, where he very sincerely promised to remain. This last paragraph was, as you see, a substantial one. The duke added to his instruction a precise and particular order to assure the queen, that if the prince was not content with the liberty of remaining quiet in his government,

with the full enjoyment of all his pensions and all his places, he would forsake him. As I was representing to him, that to my thinking he might and ought even to soften that expression: "No false generosity," replied he in an angry tone; "I know what I say, and shall be able to maintain and justify it."

This is precisely what passed between the duke and me; after which I left him. I executed his orders literally, in doing which I met with no manner of obstruction, except from those which I ought not to have expected it from. What I am going to relate is incredible. After I had taken all the previous measures necessary to an affair of this nature, I sent either Argenteuil or Joly (I do not well remember which) to the Princess Palatine, to confer with her about it. She approved of it entirely, but she wrote me word, that if I really desired that it should succeed, that is, that it should procure the king's coming back to Paris, it was necessary that I should surprize the court, because that if I should give them time there to consult the oracle, his answer would be only such as the priests of the idols should inspire and dictate to him; "And these priests," added she by way of cypher, (for we had one which we never thought could have been decyphered) "hadrather that the whole temple should perish than to suffer you to lay a single stone for the repairing of it." She asked only for five days' time to write herself to the cardinal about it, and she managed him so well, that he was in a manner forced to give his consent to my proposals, and to write to the queen that she ought at least to receive my deputation favourably.

As soon as the Telliers, the Serviens, the Ondedeis, and the Fouquets, had notice of it, they opposed it with all their power, saying that it could only be a trap which I had prepared for the court to fall into; that if I had had right and sincere intentions, I would have begun by a negotiation, and not by a proposal which would either oblige the king to come back to Paris before he had taken sufficient measures for his safety, or draw upon him the complaints of the whole city, for his not coming. The Princess Palatine, who thought herself sufficiently strong by having in hand the cardinal's order, answered them, that it would not be possible for me to act otherwise than I did, supposing that my intentions were never so sincere; because it was much less safe for me to expose myself to a negotiation in which I might meet with a thousand snares, than to a deputation of which the worst that could happen could only be my having shewn a good intention which had proved unsuccessful. Ondedei pretended that the only end of my proposal was the liberty of coming safely

to receive the hat from the king's hands. To that the princess answered, that that was but a meer ceremony, which I looked upon, as it was true, with the greatest indifference possible. Then came on the Abbot Fouquet, who alleged that the correspondences he had in Paris were sufficient to bring the king back there in a little time, without being obliged to persons who proposed to recall him with no other view than to be in a better condition to oppose him afterwards. Messieurs le Tellier and Servien, who had at first sided with the others, came over at last to the princess, moved to it, as well by her solid way of reasoning, as by the cardinal's order; and the queen, who had kept the Abbot Charrier, whom I had sent to her for passes, three whole days at Compiègne, even since she had promised them, granted them at last, even with an addition of many civilities for me. I began my journey as soon as I had the passes, having with me the deputies of all the ecclesiastical bodies of Paris, and near 200 gentlemen, of which number fifty were of the duke's guards. I was informed at Senlis that they had resolved at court not to lodge my train there; and Bautru, who was himself of the number, having taken that opportunity to get out of Paris, whose gates were kept shut, told me that he would not advise me to appear at court with so great a retinue.

I answered him, that I could hardly believe that he would advise me to go thither accompanied only by curates, canons, and monks, when the country was filled with soldiers of all parties. He owned that I was in the right, and he went himself before to inform the queen of the reasons I had to go accompanied by that retinue, which people had taken care to encrease in a very ridiculous manner. All that he could obtain was lodgings only for 80 horse, and you must observe that I had 112 belonging only to the coaches. I only laughed at these silly manners, but what gave me some umbrage was that I did not meet in my way the detachment of lifeguards, which in those days used to meet cardinals the first time they made their appearance at court. My distrust would have turned into fear, if I had known what I was told at my return to Paris; that the cause why this honour was not paid me, was their being yet unresolved what they should do with my person; some maintaining that I ought to be arrested; others, that it was necessary to have my life taken away; and others saying, that the violating the publick faith on this occasion would be attended with too many inconveniencies. Prince Thomas of Savoy caused Father Senault of the Oratory to tell my father the very day that I returned to Paris,

that he had been of this last opinion; that he would name nobody; but that there were people in the world that were great villains. The Princess Palatine did not inform me that they had carried the matter so far, but she told me the very next day after my arrival there that she had rather have me at Paris than at Compiègne. The queen however received me very well, and spoke angrily in my presence to the officer of the guards for missing me upon the road, by losing his way, as she said, in the forest. The king gave me the cap the next morning, and audience in the afternoon. I made him a speech which is printed.

The king's answer was civil, but in general terms only, and it was even with difficulty that I could get a copy of it. . . .

This is what appeared publickly of my journey to Compiègne; I will now tell you what passed in secret.

I told the queen in the private audience which she gave me in her cabinet, that I was come to Compiègne not only as a deputy of the church of Paris, but that I had another deputation, which I valued much more than the first, because I thought it much more advantageous to her service: that this second was the being sent as an envoy from the duke, who had commanded me to assure her majesty that he had taken the resolution to serve her sincerely, effectually, readily, and speedily. At this last word I shewed her a note signed by the duke, that contained the very words I had spoken. The first movement of the queen expressed an extraordinary joy, and in my opinion it was more to that joy than to any art she used (notwithstanding what people have been pleased to say since) that the following words which she spoke to me were owing: "I knew, sir, that the Cardinal de Retz would give me at last some marks of the affection he has for me." As I was just entring into discourse with her, Ondedei knocked at the door, and as I was rising from my seat to open it, the queen took hold of my arm, and said: "Stay here for me." She went out and staid with Ondedei almost a quarter of an hour, and at her coming back she told me that he had brought her a packet from Spain. She appeared to me embarrassed and altered in her manner of speaking, beyond what I can express. Bluet, whom I have mentioned to you before, has since told me that Ondedei, who had been informed that I had asked a private audience of her majesty, came to interrupt it by acquainting her that he had received an order from the cardinal to intreat her to forbear granting me any such audience, which would only serve to give a jealousy to her faithful servants.

This Bluet has swore to me more than once, that he had seen the original of that order in the hands of Ondedei, who received it but just at the time that I was locked up with the queen in the cabinet. It is certain that when she came back to me, I observed that she carried me near a window, whose glass came down to the floor, and that she placed me in a manner that it was easy for all those that stood in the court to see us both. What I am relating to you is pretty odd, and I should hardly have believed it, if all that I observed afterwards had not convinced me that there was such a general distrust of one another amongst all at Compiègne, that one must have seen it to imagine it. Messieurs Servien and le Tellier hated one another exceedingly. Ondedei was spy to both, and so he was to all the world. The Abbot Fouquet aspired to the honour of being spy in second. Bartet, Brachet, Ciron, and the Marshal du Plessis, had each their several shares. The Princess Palatine had given me the particular map of Compiègne, but I own that I could not have imagined that it was so exactly drawn as I found it.

The queen however, notwithstanding Ondedei's order, could not help expressing her joy and her gratitude to me: "But," said she, "as private conversations would but occasion people to talk more than is convenient to the duke and to yourself, by reason of the measure which ought to be preserved with the publick, see the Princess Palatine, and agree with her at what time you may confer in secret with Servien." Bluet told me afterwards that Servien was the man whom Ondedei had pointed out to her for this conference, because he had appeared the most disaffected to me; but that Servien, afraid of some ill offices from the subordinates, had refused to enter into any private negotiation with me, except he had for his colleague, or rather for a witness to his behaviour, M. le Tellier: "Who would not fail otherwise," said he to the queen, "to insinuate to the cardinal by some way or other that I am entering into measures to his prejudice with the Cardinal de Retz; and it is for that reason, madam, that I most humbly intreat your majesty, that M. le Tellier may assist at the conference." I know nothing of what I am now writing about, but by the means of Bluet, who indeed was a pretty good author in respect to these little particulars, being an intimate of Ondedei's. What makes me believe that he had not invented this, is that I really found at the Princess Palatine's, where I went between eleven and twelve at night, M. le Tellier with M. Servien, at which I was pretty much surprized, because I had some ground to believe that le Tellier was not over

well affected to me. The sequel will shew you the reasons which I had to distrust him.

It appeared to me that these gentlemen had already been informed by the queen of what I was to propose to them, of which this is the substance: That the duke was sincerely resolved to conclude a peace, and that to convince the queen of the sincerity of his intentions, he had been willing, against all common rules used in politicks, to begin rather with deeds than with words; that perhaps the most efficacious and substantial proof that he could have given of it was such a solemn deputation as that from the whole church of Paris; which deputation was resolved upon and executed, in the sight of the prince, and of the Spanish troops lodged in the suburbs; and that he offered, without hesitating, negotiating, or asking either directly or indirectly, for any private advantage, to declare himself against all those who should oppose the peace or the king's returning to Paris; provided he should be impowered to promise the prince that he should be left at peace in his governments, upon condition that the prince on his side should renounce all manner of associations with foreigners; and provided that they would put out an amnesty, full, entire, and in no manner captious; which amnesty should be verified by the *Parlement* of Paris.

It was hard to imagine that a proposal of this nature should not have been, I do not say accepted, but applauded; because supposing even that it had not been sincere, which they might suspect, according at least to their corrupt maxims, yet they might have received advantages from it in more than one manner. What made me judge that their reason for rejecting it was not their distrusting me but their distrusting one another, and their looking for a long while upon one another, expecting who should speak first. The sequel of the conference, but chiefly a certain air which cannot be expressed, shewed me more than sufficiently that I was not mistaken in my conjectures. I could get from them words only, without any meaning; and the Princess Palatine, who, though very well versed in that court, was surprized at it to the last degree, owned to me the next morning that I was right in many of my conjectures. "But," said she to me, "I am resolved at all events, if you agree to it, to speak to them as if I was persuaded that the distrust they have of you is the only cause which hinders them from acting like men; for it is certain," continued she, "that what I saw of them last night had nothing of men in it." I consented to it, provided she spoke only of herself; for after what had appeared to me of their way

of acting, I thought not fit to go so far as I had resolved, or as my instructions impowered me. The princess made it up of her own self. She told the queen not only what had passed at her house the night before, but what might have passed if it had pleased the two sub-ministers. In short she assured the queen, that if what I proposed was granted, the duke would forsake the prince, and would retire to Blois, and would afterwards meddle with nothing, whatever happened. That was the essential point which ought to have decided all. The queen took it right, and had a right sense of it. But all the subordinates undertook to make it pass only for a snare, by telling her that the duke made this shew only to draw the king to Paris, and to keep him there, whilst he was ingratiating himself the more with the people, by the honour he assumed of the king's return, which was very agreeable to the publick; and by the back-door which it was visible he reserved to himself, by his not explaining his mind in relation to Cardinal Mazarin. I have already observed that I plainly saw that what they alleged was not so much the effect of any distrust they had upon a point which the state of things had begun to clear sufficiently, as of the fear they had each of them in particular of making any advances which the rest might have interpreted to their prejudice with the cardinal. For it is easy to judge that if the conduct which they followed on this occasion had proceeded from the distrust which they took care to infuse into the queen, they would have looked out for means that might have prevented their falling into the snares they would have been afraid of, and which, on the other hand, might have contributed to keep the minds of people from growing more incensed and affairs more imbroiled, at a time when it was so necessary to appease the one, and bring the other to rights. The event which proved favourable to the court, did indeed justify their conduct, and I know that the ministers have said since, that they were so well assured of the disposition of Paris, that they had no need of these precautions. You shall yourself judge of it by what followed; but before I go upon it you must give me leave to take notice of two or three circumstances, which, though of no great moment, will represent the state which all these professed spies whom I have mentioned put the court into.

The queen was so submissive to them and was so much afraid of their reports, that she intreated the Princess Palatine to tell Ondedei without any affectation, that speaking to her, she had made great railleries of me; and her majesty herself told Ondedei,

that I had assured her that the cardinal was an honest man, and that I had no pretentions to his place. I can assure you, in my turn, that I had not said any such foolish words to the queen. Neither did her majesty forget to make her court to the Abbot Fouquet, in joining with him to turn the great expence which this journey cost me into ridicule. I must own that for the little time it lasted that expence was immense. I kept seven tables served at the same time which cost me 800 crowns a day. But what is necessary is never ridiculous. The queen told me, when I received her orders, that she thanked the duke, to whom she thought herself much obliged; that she hoped he would contribute all that was necessary for the king's return; that it was her request to him; and that she would not take one step without concerting it with him. I answered her, that in my opinion it would be requisite to begin immediately. But she broke off the discourse.

I had wherewithal to comfort myself of the Abbot Fouquet's railleries, by the manner in which I was received at Paris. I met there at my return with an incredible applause, and I went directly to the duke's palace where I gave his royal highness an account of my negotiation. I put him into a mighty surprize; he fell into a passion; he railed at the court; he went twenty times into the dutchess's apartment, and came back to me twenty times. At last he said to me hastily: "The prince is resolved to go; the Count de Fuensaldagne writes him word that he is ordered to deliver up into his hands the whole Spanish forces, but we must not suffer him to go. These people will come to Paris and cut our throats. The court must hold intelligences here, which we are not aware of. Could they act in the manner they do if they were not conscious of their own strength?"

This was one of the shortest periods of a discourse which lasted above an hour. I let him go on without interrupting him, and I even answered his questions only with monosyllables. At last he grew impatient and commanded me to give him my opinion, saying: "I forgive you your monosyllables, when I act to please the prince, contrary to your advice. But when I follow your advice, as I have done on this occasion, I will have you speak out and explain yourself." "It is my duty, sir," answered I, "to speak always in that manner to your royal highness, whatever advice you are pleased to follow. I do not disown the advice I have given on this occasion; far from it, I do not repent of it, notwithstanding the event. Fortune disposes of that, but fortune has nothing to do with good sense.

My sense of things may be less right than that of others, because I lack their ability. But for this time I hold my advice to have been as good as if it had succeeded, and it will be no hard matter to me to convince your royal highness of it." The duke interrupted me here, even hastily; and he said to me: "You have mistaken my meaning; I know that we have acted reasonably. But it is not enough, as the world goes, to have reason of one's side, chiefly when the thing is past. The question is what we must now do? We are going to be trampled upon, and you see as well as I, that they are not so blind at court as to act in the manner they do there, except they had either made their accommodation with the prince, or were masters of Paris without me." The dutchess, who was impatient to know how this scene would end, came at this word into the library where we were, and to say the truth, I was very glad of it, because when she was not prepossessed she judged always rightly, though she had but a mean understanding. The duke continuing to command me in her presence to speak my opinion, I begged leave of him to set it down in writing, which was always the best way with him, because his vivacity made him at every instant interrupt the thread of the discourse spoken to him. I give you here a copy of what I wrote down, transcribed from the original, which I met with by great chance.

"I think that his royal highness ought to take it for granted that the haughtiness of the court proceeds less from the knowledge they have there of their strength, than of the confusion which the absence of the cardinal, and the multitude of agents they have there, puts them into two or three times in a day. But as part of our present discussion ought to be grounded upon that principle, it is not just that his royal highness should believe me upon my bare word, which after all is itself grounded only upon what I think that I have discovered at Compiègne, and in which I may consequently be mistaken. For that reason I intreat his royal highness to begin by having that point cleared, and by being satisfied whether what I think I have discovered is well grounded. To explain myself better, I would have him be satisfied whether the haughtiness which I fancy I have observed in the court is really true, and whether it proceeds from the confusion which I have mentioned, or from the diffidence and the aversion they have there for my person. His royal highness may be satisfied upon that point in two days' time, by means of M. Danville, and by means of those gentlemen that

belong to his royal highness, that are more agreeable to the queen than I. If I have been mistaken, I see nothing new that ought to hinder him from pursuing his point, and going on with the peace as he had resolved before, by making use of persons that are like to be heard at court more favourably than I. If I am right in my conjecture, the question is whether his royal highness ought to change his thoughts, to think no longer of an accommodation, and to make war effectually, running the risk of all that may happen; or whether he ought to sacrifice himself to the publick repose and tranquility. Those who receive his royal highness's command to speak their sentiments on this occasion, are much imbarrassed, because their fate must be, to pass either for men of factious spirit, who seek to render the civil war eternal; or for traitors, that sell their party; or for idiots, that treat of matters of state in the closet of princes, as they would do of cases of conscience in the Sorbonne. And the misfortune is that it will be neither their good or their ill conduct, nor their good or evil intentions, which will either give them those denominations, or preserve them from those titles. All will depend on fortune, or even on their enemies' conduct.

"This observation shall not prevent me from speaking to his royal highness on this occasion with the same liberty that I should use, supposing that I was nothing concerned in the matter, and that I did not find myself in a conjuncture where I am sure that nothing good can be said, for the same reason that nothing good can be done. His royal highness has in my opinion, as I have already said, but two ways to follow, supposing that the court is in the disposition I believe them to be in. These two ways are, either to yield to whatever they please there, and to suffer their coming back to Paris by their own means, without thinking themselves obliged to his royal highness for it, and without giving the publick any manner of surety; or to oppose their return with courage and with vigour, and to oblige them, by a strong and bold resistance, to enter into a treaty and to pacify the state by the same means which have been always sought for at the end of civil wars. If the respect I owe his royal highness gave me leave to count myself for anything in so great an affair as this, I should take the liberty to tell him, that the first way would serve my purpose, because it would lead me (perhaps amidst some murmurs which would at first be raised against me) to the post which I am persuaded would be no ill one for me. The Frondeurs would at first say that my counsels would have been but weak. Pacifick men, whose num-

ber is always the greatest at the end of civil wars, would say that they had been both wise and honest. I should above all remain a cardinal and Archbishop of Paris, though perhaps removed to Rome, but removed only for a time, and even during that time in the greatest post there.

"The event would oblige politicians to look upon me with the same eye as pacifick men. The heat against Mazarin would either be extinguished, or laid asleep by his being restored. The murmurs raised at first against me would be forgotten, or would be only remembered to occasion people's saying still the more that I am an able and a gallant man for withdrawing myself so cleverly out of an ill step. This is the manner in which the world treats private persons, in respect to reputation. It is otherwise with princes, because their birth and elevation being always more than sufficient to save from shipwreck their person and their fortune, their reputation is thereby the more exposed. Supposing that his royal highness suffers the *Parlement* to be removed, the Hôtel de Ville assemblies to be interdicted, the canons of the cathedral to be forcibly taken away, half of the sovereign courts to be exiled; people will not say: 'What could he have done to have helped it? the attempting anything would perhaps have proved his ruin.' They will say: 'It was in his power to have helped it; the thing was easy if he had had but the will.' It may be objected for the same reason, that supposing that his royal highness makes a peace, that he retires to Blois, and that Cardinal Mazarin is restored; people will say the like of him. But I maintain that in this last case, there will be a vast, nay an entire difference from the first; because as to the return of Mazarin, after a peace made by his royal highness, the people may easily think that his royal highness had not foreseen it; but if his royal highness suffers the court to return without his leave, it cannot be said that he has not foreseen all the evil that will ensue to Paris perhaps to-morrow, if he does not oppose it. I fear the return of Cardinal Mazarin for the body of the state. I should not fear it, at least for the present, in relation to Paris. Neither his temper nor his interest would carry him to revenge himself upon this city, and there would, in my opinion, be less danger in respect to that, by his presence now at court, than by his absence from it. What makes me tremble for Paris, is the animosity which is natural to the queen, the violence of Servien, the hardness of le Tellier, the passion of the Abbot Fouquet, the madness of Ondedei. All that this pack of men are like to advise in the first instants of a reduction, all that they will execute,

will be charged to his royal highness's account, whilst he himself is either still at Paris, or just getting out of it. But no such thing will happen if his royal highness comes to a reasonable treaty with the court, wherein he takes care jointly with the *Parlement* and other bodies, to take all possible sureties, agreeable to an affair of this nature; for after such a treaty, and after his royal highness's being retired to Blois, everything, and even the return of the cardinal, would be wholly charged to the account of the court, and would turn to the clearing and even to the honour of his royal highness. These are my thoughts as to the first way, and here follow my reflections upon the second, which is that of continuing, or rather renewing the war.

"It is, in my opinion, what his royal highness can no longer do, but by keeping the prince near him. The court has gained a great deal of ground in the provinces, chiefly in those places where the heat of the *Parlements* is grown much cooler. Paris itself is not now near so zealous as it was; and though it is far from being so much relaxed as some would persuade the court, it is certain that it is necessary to support people's spirits there, and that moments begin even to become precious. The person of the prince is not beloved there; his birth, his troops, his valour, are still there of the same weight. In short, if his royal highness follows the second way, the first step he ought to take is to make himself sure of the prince his cousin. The second step, in my opinion, is to speak his mind publickly and without delay, in the *Parlement*, and at the Hôtel de Ville, and to give his reasons for continuing the war; to mention there the advances which he has made to the court by my means, and the design they have resolved upon there to return to Paris without giving any sureties, either to the sovereign courts, or to the city; to mention the resolution which his royal highness has taken to oppose the court with all his might, and to treat as enemies all those who shall hold directly or indirectly any correspondence there. The third step is, in my opinion, to execute these declarations with vigour, and to enter into war, as if his royal highness was never to think again of a peace. The power which his royal highness has with the people makes me believe without the least doubt, that all that I have here proposed is possible; but I must add, that it will cease to be so, the moment that his royal highness shall cease to make use of all his authority, because the contrary steps which he has suffered to be made towards the court, have rendered those that are now necessary, more difficult. It is his royal highness's business to consider what he

may expect or what he may fear from the prince; how far he is willing to engage with foreigners; what measures he will take with the *Parlement* and the Hôtel de Ville; for except he comes to a fixed resolution upon all these points, with a firm design of not departing from it; except he resolves to reject for the future those mediums whereby he pretends to reconcile things contradictory and impossible, his royal highness will again fall into all the inconveniences in which he has seen himself, and which he will find more dangerous beyond comparison, than in time past, because the state in which things are, will render them decisive. It does not belong to me to decide upon a matter of this importance; I leave it to his royal highness to take his resolution. *Sola mihi obsequii gloria relicta est.*"

This I wrote hastily, and without stopping, upon the table of the library of the duke's palace. His royal highness read it with great attention, and carried it to the dutchess. The groundwork of it was examined all the evening long, but without coming to any resolution by reason of the duke's continual hesitating, without ever coming to a choice.

At my coming from this conference, I found M. de Caumartin at the President de Bellièvre's, who had caused his people to remove him to a house in the suburb of St. Michael, by reason of a defluxion he had in one eye. I told M. de Caumartin the substance of what I had writ down at the duke's. He chid me for it, and said: "I cannot imagine what is your meaning; for you expose yourself to the hatred of both parties, by speaking the truth too openly of them both." "I know" (replied I to him) "that I go against politicks, but I act agreeably to morality, which I value more than the other." "Nay," said the President de Bellièvre, "even according to politicks, the Cardinal de Retz is in the right, considering the state in which affairs are. There is so much uncertainty in them, chiefly in respect to his royal highness, that a wise man ought not to take upon him to determine anything."

Two hours after this, the duke sent for me to Madam de Pommereux's where I was, and I found a page at the gate of his palace waiting to tell me, that his royal highness desired that I would go to the dutchess's apartment, and stay for him there. He was unwilling that I should go to the library, where he was shut up with Goulas, whom he was questioning upon the subject you shall now see. He came to me some time after, and said: "You were this day saying, that the first step I ought to take

in case I resolve upon continuing the war, is to make myself sure of the prince: but how the devil can I do it?" "You know, sir," replied I, "that in the terms I am in with his highness, I cannot answer your question. Your royal highness ought to consider how far your power extends in this case." "How would you have me know it?" (continued he); "Chavigny has almost finished a treaty with the Abbot Fouquet. Do you remember what Madam de Choisy has lately told me upon that subject in general terms? I have been now informed of all the particulars. The prince swears that he knows nothing of the matter, and that Chavigny is a traitor; but who can tell whether that be true?" These particulars were, that Chavigny was treating with the Abbot Fouquet, and that he promised to use his utmost efforts with the prince to oblige him to come to an accommodation with Mazarin upon reasonable terms. A letter from the Abbot Fouquet to M. le Tellier, which was intercepted by a party of Germans, and carried to M. de Tavanne's, justified the prince fully in respect to Chavigny's negotiation; for it imported in express words, that in case the prince would not submit to reason, Chavigny ingaged his word to the queen, that he would leave nothing undone to set him at variance with the duke.

The prince, who had the original of that letter in his hands, carried his passion against Chavigny to a great extremity, and called him traitor, speaking to himself. Overcome by grief at this, Chavigny went home to bed, and never rose from it afterwards. M. de Bagnols, who was his friend as well as mine, came to desire me to go and see him. I found him without the use of his senses, and I paid to his family the compliments I owed to himself. I remember that Mademoiselle du Plessis-Guénégaut was in his chamber, where he died two or three days after.

Much about that time the Duke of Guise came from Spain, where he had been detained prisoner, and did me the honour to come and visit me the very next day after his arrival. I intreated him that he would, in regard to me, moderate the sharp complaints he made against M. de Fontenay, by whom he pretended to have been ill used at the time of the revolution at Naples, M. de Fontenay being then ambassador at Rome. He yielded to my instances with a civility worthy of the great name he bore.

I had all along reserved to treat in this place of the affair of Brisach, which I have just touched upon in an earlier part of these memoirs, because it was likewise much about this time

that the Prince d'Harcourt quitted the army and the service of the king, to throw himself into that important place. But as it has not been possible for me to find a relation extremely fine and sincere, which I had of it, and which was written by an officer of the garrison, who was a man of sense and honour, I rather chuse to pass by the particulars, and I content myself to tell you in general that the good genius of France defended and saved the honour of the crown in that important and famous post, in spight of all the imprudences of the cardinal, and of the infidelities of Madam de Guébriant, by the good intentions of Charlevoix, and by the uncertainties of the Count d'Harcourt. I return to my narration.

The irresolution of his royal highness was of a species altogether singular. It often hindered him from acting, at the time that acting was the most necessary, and it put him sometimes upon acting, when it was most necessary to remain quiet. I attribute both these effects to his irresolution, because they both proceeded, as I have observed, from the different and opposite views he had, which made him believe that he might make a serviceable use to himself, though in different manners, either of acting or not acting, according as he was moved by these opposite and different views. But methinks I explain myself but ill, and that you will understand me better, by exposing to your view the faults which I pretend to have been the effect of that irresolution. I proposed to the duke upon September 1 or 2 to go sincerely about making a peace, and I represented to him that nothing was of greater importance than the keeping this design entirely hid from the court itself, for the reasons you have seen before, to which the duke agreed. Upon the 5th, there was an assembly at the Hôtel de Ville, which the prince himself procured, to make the people believe that he did not oppose the king's return, and it was the President de Nesmond, at least as I have been told since, who persuaded him that the demonstration was necessary: I have never remembred to speak to him about it. It was resolved in that assembly to send a solemn deputation to the king to intreat him to return to his good city of Paris. This was not at all agreeable to the duke's design, who having resolved, as I have already said, to gain to himself the honour and the merit of the deputation of the clergy, at the head of which I was to go, ought not to have suffered that the city should be beforehand with him; considering besides that he was not master of the steps that might follow that deputation. He ingaged however, without any hesitation, not only to suffer

the assembly to meet at the Hôtel de Ville, but to assist at it in person. I was informed of it in the evening, and I mentioned it freely to him as a false step he had made. "Why" (said he) "this meeting about a deputation will come to nothing. Who does not know the insignificancy of these assemblies? The prince has desired this, believing it good for him to appease the people, whom the firing of the Hôtel de Ville has incensed. But besides," added he, (and these are the words which I would have you to observe) "who knows whether we shall execute what we have resolved about the deputation of the clergy? We must advance and draw back in these perverse times as matters require, without minding regularity too much." This answer is, in my opinion, an explanation of the nonsense you have seen before; I will give you another example. The king having refused, as you shall see presently, this deputation of the Hôtel de Ville, old Broussel, who made a scruple to suffer that his name should be alleged as an obstacle to the peace, went to the Hôtel de Ville and declared that he quitted his magistracy. Having had notice of his design time enough to have prevented it, I went to acquaint the duke with it, who after having mused a little, said to me: "If the court had answered our good intentions, it would have been well for us that Broussel had quitted his post; but I own, that for the present it is bad for us. But you must own likewise, that if they come to themselves at court, as they must do one time or other, it being impossible that they should always remain blind, we should not be sorry that old Broussel had lost his place." You see in this discourse the image and the effects of uncertainty. I have mentioned these two examples only as patterns out of a long series of actions of the like nature, which the duke, who had certainly a very clear understanding, could not correct. It is true indeed that the court afforded him no room to reflect much upon his faults, for want of taking advantage of them. The advantage they received from them at court was due to fortune alone, and if the duke and the prince had made the use they might have done, of their refusing to receive the deputation from the Hôtel de Ville, the court would have been in danger to have no deputation at all for a long while. Their answer to Piétre, the king's attorney for the city of Paris, who went to demand an audience for the sheriffs, and the deputies of the several wards, was that it could not be granted so long as the city should acknowledge M. de Beaufort for governor, and M. Broussel for Prévôt-des-Marchands. The President Viole said to me, as soon as he had

heard of this refusal: "I did not approve of the deputation, fearing that it would prove more hurtful than beneficial to the duke and to the prince. But the imprudence of the court has now turned it altogether to their advantage." The voluntary abdication of old Broussel rendered that imprudence the more solemn. It is certain that they might have used mediums there, which even in preserving the dignity of the crown, would not have exasperated people's minds to the degree this refusal did. If the princes had made a right use of it, the ministers would have repented for a long time of their blundering manner of carrying on this affair, as well as all others.

What is surprizing is, that the court followed this conduct, just at the time that the party of the princes was receiving a very considerable reinforcement. The Duke of Lorrain, who thought that by removing out of the kingdom, he had fulfilled his treaty made with M. de Turenne at Villeneuve St. George, notified by two cannon shot that he was arrived at Vaneau-les-Dames, which is in the Barrois. He came back afterwards into Champagne with all his forces, which were augmented with 3000 German horse, commanded by Prince Ulric of Wirtemberg. The Chevalier de Guise commanded as lieutenant-general under the Duke of Lorrain, and the Count de Pas, whom I have mentioned before in some place or other, had, I think, joined some horse to this army. The Duke of Lorrain came slowly on towards Paris, inriching his army by pillaging. He encamped near Villeneuve St. George, where the Duke of Orleans's forces commanded by M. de Beaufort, those of the prince (who was sick at Paris) commanded by the Prince of Tarento and the Count de Tavannes, and those of Spain commanded by Clinchamp, in the name of M. de Nemours, came to join him. They resolved all of them together to come nearer M. de Turenne, who having Corbeil, Melun, and all that is above the river, in his hands, wanted for nothing; while the confederates, who were obliged to seek for subsistance in the neighbourhood of Paris, pillaged the villages, and raised consequently the price of provisions in the city. This consideration added to their number, which was superior to that of M. de Turenne, obliged them to seek out for an opportunity to fight him. He avoided it with that capacity which is known and respected all the world over, and the whole ended in skirmishes that left matters undecided. The imprudence or rather the ignorance of the cardinal, and of the sub-ministers, went near to ruin their party, by a fault which ought to have been beyond comparison of more prejudice to

them than even the defeat of M. de Turenne. Provôt, a canon of Nôtre-Dame, and a counsellor of the *Parlement*, a man as mad as any one can be that is not shut up, undertook to assemble together at the Palais-Royal all those that were true servants to the king (that was to be the distinguishing character). This assembly was made up of four or five hundred citizens, of which there were not sixty that were men of any substance. Provôt acquainted them that he had received a *lettre de cachet* from the king, by which he was ordered to put to the sword all those who should wear straw in their hats, instead of paper, which was the distinguishing mark of those of the king's party. He read, in effect, that letter, and that was the beginning of the most ridiculous enterprize thought of since the procession of the league. The event was, that upon September 24, as that assembly was coming out of the Palais-Royal, they were most intolerably hissed at; and that upon the 26th the Marshal d'Estampes, whom the duke sent to the place where they assembled, dispersed them by speaking but a few words.

The end of that expedition was, that they ceased to assemble for fear of being hanged, as they were threatened to be by a decree of *Parlement*, forbidding upon pain of death to assemble and to wear any distinguishing marks. If the duke and the prince had made use of that opportunity in the manner they might have done, the king's party had that day been crushed in Paris for a long time. One le Maire, a perfumer, who was of that gang, came running into my house, trembling for fear, and as pale as death. I remember that it was not in my power to hearten him, and that he desired that he might hide himself in my cellar. I had myself ground enough to be afraid; for being known not to be in the interest of the prince, I might easily enough have been suspected to have had a hand in that enterprize. The duke, as you have seen, was not inclined to make use of such conjunctures; and the prince was so weary of anything that had to do with the people, that he did not think it worth his consideration. Croissy has told me since that he endeavoured all he could to awaken the prince on this occasion, and to persuade him that he ought not to lose it. I never remembred to speak of it to the prince.

Here follows another fault, in my opinion not less than the first. The Duke of Lorrain, who was a great lover of negotiations, entered into one as soon as he was arrived. He told me in the presence of the Dutchess of Orleans, that negotiations followed him everywhere; that when he left Flanders he was weary of

negotiating with the Count de Fuensaldagne, and that at Paris he must begin again to negotiate, whether he would or no: "For" (said he) "what else can one do here, when I see even the Baron du Jour thinks of making a separate treaty for himself?" This Baron du Jour was a gentleman belonging to the duke, and a very odd sort of a man; so that the Duke of Lorrain could not better represent the multitude of negotiators, than by bringing this baron into the number. But what made him further believe that that spirit of negotiating was come into the duke's head, was his having observed that for some time he had not pressed him to cause his troops to advance, as he had done before. His observation was true, and it is certain that the duke, who was sincerely for a peace, had good reasons to be afraid that the prince seeing himself so considerably reinforced, would put invincible obstacles to it. The duke was extremely glad for that reason, to see the Duke of Lorrain likewise inclined to negotiate, and to send to court M. de Joyeuse-St. Lambert, "who will only have," said the duke to me, "M. de Lorrain's commission, which will not hinder him from discovering if there is nothing to be done for me." "He may perhaps, sir," answered I, "be more successful than I have been: I wish he may, though I do not believe it." I guessed right, for that gentleman staid twelve days at court without receiving any answer. He reported one at his coming back, I believe of his own making, in words so obscure that nobody could understand the meaning of them, except at court where it was disowned. The Marshal d'Estampes, whom the duke had likewise sent thither upon the insinuations given to the Dutchess of Orleans by M. le Tellier's means, that he would be hearkned to there as a private man, upon all that he might say in the duke's name, came back as much dissatisfied at least as the other.

Upon September 30 M. Talon made an end of letting the duke and the publick into the true intentions of the queen, by sending M. Doujat to the *Parlement* (he being himself indisposed) with the letters he had received from the chancellor and the first president, in answer to those he had written to them, consequently to the deliberation of the 26th. These letters imported that the king having transferred his *Parlement* to Pontoise, and interdicted the counsellors at Paris from any manner of function there, he could receive no deputation from them till they had obeyed. I cannot express to you the consternation of the company. It went so far that the duke was afraid that they would have forsaken him, which apprehension made him take a very

false step, for it obliged him to draw a letter out of his pocket full of flattering expressions from the queen. The Marshal d'Estampes had brought him this letter, and though that gentleman was very well affected to the court, he could not imagine it to be sincere, no more than the duke himself, who had shewn it me the day before, saying to me: "The queen must take me for a great fool to write to me in this manner, at the time that she is acting as she does." By this you may see that he was not the dupe of this letter, or rather that he had not been so to that moment. But he became in effect the dupe of it by his making a shew of it to the *Parlement*, because it persuaded the *Parlement* that the duke was treating of an accommodation for himself with the court. By this means he threw a distrust of his conduct among the members of that company, instead of regaining a further credit with them. He could never divest himself of that mysterious air on such occasions, and notwithstanding what the dutchess could say to him, he thought it all along necessary for his safety, to prevent people, as he said, from running into accommodations without him. That air of negotiating added to the appearances of it which the party of the prince was continually shewing, was in my opinion what brought the peace about, much sooner than the most real and effectual negotiations could have done. Great affairs depend still more upon imagination than small ones. The people's imagination alone is sometimes the cause of a civil war. It produced the peace on this occasion; for the peace ought not to be attributed to their weariness, which was far from being come to such a point as to oblige them to recall back or to receive Mazarin. It is certain that they suffered his return only when they became persuaded that they could no longer prevent it: but as soon as the body of the publick perceived plainly that it was so, then private persons ran into it, and what persuaded both private persons and the publick that it was so, was the conduct of the chiefs.

The duke's mysterious manner of explaining himself in the late assemblies, in order to shew the regard which they still preserved for him at court, finished what was already very much advanced. Everybody thought the peace certain, so that everybody was for making his separate treaty. As soon as the gentleman whom the Duke of Lorrain had sent to court was come back, and that his negotiation was known, the *Parlement* slackened and gave publickly to understand that provided the king would grant a general and full amnesty that should be verified in the *Parlement* at Paris, they would seek for no other sureties. They went not

so far as to declare this by a formal edict, but what they did produced very near the same effect, having intreated the duke to seek himself for no other sureties, and to inform the king of it.

Upon October 10, M. Servin having represented that it would be necessary to desire the Duke of Beaufort to resign the government of Paris, by reason of the king's refusing to receive the deputies of the Hôtel de Ville, so long as he assumed that post; M. Servin, I say, who at another time durst not have mentioned anything like this, was now heard without being either repulsed or hissed. It was even said in that same sitting, that the counsellors of the *Parlement* who were officers of the trained bands, might go, if they pleased, to St. Germain, where the court was, with the Hôtel de Ville deputation. Observe however that among the instances which this deputation was to make to the king for his returning to Paris, not a word was said about the verification of the amnesty in the *Parlement* at Paris. What nonsense was that!

Upon the 11th the duke promised the company to get M. de Beaufort to resign his employment; and Messieurs Doujat and Servin acquainted the company of the complaints they had made to the duke of the disorders committed by the forces, contrary to the promise which had been given that they should retire. The Duke of Lorrain, whom I met that day in St. Honoré's street, and who had like to have been killed by the citizens who guarded the gate of St. Martin, because he would have gone out of town, set off with all its colours the uniformity of this conduct. He told me that he would write a book upon it and dedicate it to the duke. "My poor little sister [1] will cry at it," said he, "but no matter. She will comfort herself with Mademoiselle Claude."

Upon the 12th the duke made many excuses to the *Parlement* that the troops did not remove so soon as they would have done had it not been for the bad weather. You are without doubt very much surprized to hear the duke speak in this manner of those troops, which eight or ten days before appeared publickly in their red and yellow scarfs, in a condition to fight even with advantage those of the king. An historian who should write of times more remote would seek for connections to incidents so unlikely, and if I may say so, so contradictory as these were. There was no greater interval of time than the few days I have mentioned, between these doings, neither was there any other mystery in it. All that vulgar politicians have been pleased to imagine in order to reconcile these events, was nothing else than

[1] The Dutchess of Orleans.

fiction and chimeras. This brings me back to the maxim I have laid down, which is, that by consequences almost inevitable, capital faults render those things possible which appear and are in effect the most unlikely.

Upon the 13th the colonels of the several wards of the city had the king's order to come by deputies to St. Germain, where M. de Sève, the eldest of them, spoke for the rest. The king ordered a dinner to be prepared for them, and honoured them even with his presence whilst they dined. That same day the prince left Paris with a joy beyond whatever you can imagine: he had formed that design long before. It has been the opinion of many that his love for Madam de Châtillon had detained him there; but many others believed that he had, to the last, entertained hopes of coming to an accommodation with the court. I cannot remember what he has told me upon that subject; for it is impossible that in the long conversations I have had since with him about matters past, I should not have mentioned this.

Upon the 14th M. de Beaufort made a short and bad compliment to the *Parlement*, upon his having resigned the government of Paris.

Upon the 16th the duke declared plainly to the *Parlement*, that the king had disowned in every respect what the gentleman sent by M. de Lorrain pretended to have transacted at court; but he added, according to his usual style, that he was every moment expecting some better news. The duke seeing me wonder at his continuing this conduct, said to me: "Would you be answerable from one quarter of an hour to another? How do I know whether the people would not in an instant deliver me up to the king, if they thought that I kept no measures with the court? How do I know whether in another instant they would not deliver me up to the prince, if it came into his head to return to Paris and to cause there an insurrection?" When you see these principles of the duke's I believe that you are less surprized at his conduct. It is said that one ought never to dispute against what is laid down for a principle. Those principles that are grounded upon fear ought less to be disputed and are less disputable than all others: they are unapproachable.

The duke acquainted the *Parlement* upon the 19th that he had received a letter from the king, informing him of his coming to Paris upon the 5th, which was the Monday; and the duke added that he was extremely surprized that their majesties should not begin by sending an amnesty to be verified in the

Parlement of Paris. The company fell into the greatest consternation. They deliberated upon it, and it was agreed that they should intreat the king to do that act of grace both to the *Parlement* and to all his people.

His royal highness had received that letter upon the 18th in the evening, upon which he immediately sent for me. He told me that the conduct of the court was incomprehensible; that they ventured there upon losing all, and that he had almost a mind to shut the gates against the king. I answered him, that the conduct of the court was not at all incomprehensible to me; that they knew there that they ran no manner of hazard, knowing as they did his good and pacifick intentions; that in my opinion they acted (at least considering the end they had) with much more prudence than they had done in the beginning; that I could not see what could hinder them from returning to Paris, after his having promised ever since the 14th to restore the former Prévôt des Marchands and the sheriffs, as the court had ordered it without ever concerting the thing with him. The duke uttered five or six oaths one after another; and after having mused a little, "Go," said he, "I will be left for two hours to myself; come again this evening about eight." I found him at that time in the dutchess's cabinet, and I found her catechising or rather exhorting of him, for he was in the greatest transport possible, and spoke as if he had been on horseback, armed *cap-à-piè*, and ready to cover the plains of St. Denis and Grenelle with blood and slaughter. The dutchess was frightened, and I must confess that though I knew the duke well enough to prevent my being over hasty in imagining him so bloody-minded, I fancied however that he was more moved than ordinary. The first thing he said to me was: "Well, sir, what say you to this? Do you think there is any safety for me to treat with the court?" "None at all, sir," answered I, "except you look to yourself and provide for your own safety; her royal highness knows that I never spoke otherwise to you." "It is certainly so," said the dutchess. "But had you not told me," continued the duke, "that the king would not return to Paris without concerting the matter with me?" "I had told you, sir," replied I, "that the queen had told me so, but that her manner of saying it obliged me to give your royal highness notice, that you ought by no means to rely upon her word." "He has given you but too much notice," said the dutchess, "but you would not believe him." "I own it," replied the duke, "and I complain only of the cursed Spanish woman." "Com-

plaints are out of season," said the dutchess; "it is high time to act something one way or another. You were for peace when it was in your power to make war; you are now for war, when it is not in your power to make either war or peace." "I will make war to-morrow," replied the duke in a warrior's tone, "and more easily than ever. Ask the Cardinal de Retz." The duke thought that I would have opposed that proposition; I perceived that it was the thing he wished, to have it in his power afterwards to say, that he would have done wonders if he had not been kept back. I gave him no room for it, for I answered him gravely and without the least emotion: "No doubt of it, sir." "Am I not still," continued the duke, "master of the people?" "Yes, sir," said I. "At my calling the prince back, will he not return?" "I believe he will, sir," said I. "Will not the Spanish army advance if I require it?" "In all appearance it will," replied I. You expect after this that he would have entered into some great resolution, or at least into some great deliberation. Nothing like it, and I cannot give you a better account of the end of this conference, than by desiring you to remember what you have sometimes seen at the Italian comedy. The comparison shews indeed but little respect, and I should not take the liberty to make it, if it was of my own inventing. But it came into the dutchess's head presently after the duke's going out of her room, and she told it me half laughing and half crying. "Methinks," said she, "that I see Harlequin telling Scaramouche: What fine things I would have said if thou hadst not had wit enough to contradict me!"

The conversation ended in that manner, the duke concluding that though it was very bad that the king should return to Paris, without doing it in concert with him, and without an amnesty verified in *Parlement*, it would however agree neither with his duty or reputation to oppose it, because there was nobody but knew that it was in his power to do it if he pleased, so that all the world would do him justice in acknowledging that his regard for the quiet of the state was the only thing that could oblige him to follow a conduct, which, as to his particular, ought to be grievous to him. The dutchess, who was however of his opinion at the bottom, at least in regard to the thing itself, for the reasons you have seen before, could not allow him that expression. She said to him with firmness, and even with anger: "This way of reasoning, sir, might become the Cardinal de Retz, but not a son of France: but that question is now over, and all we have to do now is to submit with a good grace to the king."

He exclaimed at that word as if she had proposed to him to throw himself headlong into the river. "Retire then, sir, immediately," added she. "And where the devil shall I retire?" said he. He left her at this word, and went to his own apartment, whither he commanded me to follow him. It was to ask me if I had had no notice from the Princess Palatine about the king's return: I told him that I had not; which was true: but it was not long before I heard from her, for an hour after I received a note of hers importing that the queen had commanded her to acquaint me with it, and to tell me that her majesty made no doubt but that I would finish in this conjuncture what I had so well and so happily begun at Compiègne. That princess made me many excuses in a second note in cypher, for giving me notice so late. "You know the state of things here," added she; "the court is at St. Germain the same it was at Compiègne." This was telling me enough. All that I have related arrived upon October 20.

The king, who lay that night at Ruel, came to Paris upon the 21st. He sent from Ruel, Nogent and M. Danville to the duke to invite him to come and meet him. His royal highness could never resolve upon doing it, though these two gentlemen pressed him extremely. They were in the right, and I am still persuaded that the duke was not in the wrong. Not that there was any design against his person, at least as I have heard the Marshal de Villeroy say. But I believe that if he had been to meet the king, and that the king had had a design to have secured him, he might have done it, considering the disposition in which the people were. I own that at the bottom the people were very well inclined to the duke, and better inclined to him beyond comparison than to the court; but the minds of people were in an agitation, and in a flutter that might in my opinion have been turned to anything; and if the weight of the royal majesty had been made use of in that conjuncture, I do not know whether it would not have carried it. I speak doubtfully upon the matter, because it is certain that upon the whole the duke had still for him all the meaner, and even all the middling people. But, in short, there were, in my opinion, good reasons to prevent his running the risk, chiefly out of the walls of Paris. My wonder was much greater that the ministers should expose the person of his majesty to the discontent, the distrust and the fright of the duke; to the fear of a *Parlement* that had room to believe that the court came with a design to crush that company; and to the caprice of a people who continued their attachment to

persons of whom the cardinal was far from being assured. The event has so well justified the conduct which the court followed on this occasion, that it is almost ridiculous to blame it. I think nevertheless that it was imprudent, rash and inconsiderate, beyond what it is possible to imagine. I will not say upon this head what I have said upon the other, that I am doubtful; I will say positively and to my certain knowledge, that if the duke had pleased, the queen and the sub-ministers had that day been separated from the king.

Courtiers will always suffer themselves to be amused by the acclamations of the people, without considering that they are only things of course on such occasions. I heard some persons at the Louvre that evening who were flattering the queen upon these acclamations, whilst M. de Turenne, who was behind me, was whispering me in the ear: "They did almost the like lately for the Duke of Lorrain." I had surprized that gentleman very much if I had told him that in the midst of these acclamations there had been many persons who had proposed to the duke to oblige the king to go and take up his lodging at the Hôtel de Ville. This was very true, and M. de Beaufort himself had pressed him about it with twelve or fifteen counsellors of the *Parlement*. There are some of them who are still living, whom people would very much wonder at if I should name them. The duke would not hearken to it, and I opposed it to my utmost when the duke told me of that proposal. It was in my opinion a thing possible as to the present success, it being certain that any town officer who would have made the least appearance against the duke's orders, would have been massacred by his own soldiers; but setting aside respect, conscience, and what else you can imagine, the proposal was foolish, considering the circumstances and the consequences, as you will perceive at once by what I have said before. It was certainly by a principle of duty only that I opposed it, for I thought myself in much greater danger than I have ever done in my life. I went to wait for the king at the Louvre, where I staid two or three hours before he came, with Madam de Lesdiguières, and M. de Turenne. This last asked me aloud, without any ill meaning, but rather moved by his concern, whether I thought myself safe there? I squeezed his hand, because I perceived that Frelay, who was a great Mazarinian, had heard him, and I answered: "Yes, sir, and all manner of ways: Madam de Lesdiguières knows that I am in the right to think so." This however was only bragging, for I am persuaded, that if I had been arrested that day, it

would have occasioned no manner of stirring. What I have been telling you of what was possible on either side, will without doubt appear contradictory to you, and I confess that it can be well conceived only by those who have seen not only the outside, but the inside of what passed.

The queen received me admirably well, and she desired the king to embrace me as being the man to whom he chiefly owed his return to Paris. These words, which were heard by a great many, caused me a real joy, because I thought that the queen would not have spoken them publickly, if she had had a design to have had me arrested. I staid at the court till the queen went to council. As I was coming away I met Jouy in the antechamber, who told me that the duke had sent him to know whether it was true that they had admitted me at the council board, and to command me to come to him. I met, as I was entering the duke's palace, M. d'Aligre coming out, who had been sent by the king to bid the duke in his name to leave Paris the next day, and to retire to Limours. This blunder has likewise been consecrated by the event, but in my opinion it is one of the greatest and most signal faults that has ever been committed in politicks. You may tell me that they knew at court what sort of man the duke was; to which I will answer, that they knew him so little on this occasion, that he was just upon the point of resolving, or rather of executing what he had really resolved; which was to post himself in the market-place, to make barricades even to the gates of the Louvre, and to drive the king away from thence. I am persuaded that he would have succeeded even with ease, if he had gone about it, and that the people had not stood hesitating if they had seen his royal highness in person, and his royal highness taking up arms only to prevent his being exiled. I have been accused of having stirred up the duke very much on this occasion. Take what follows as a true account of what I did.

At my coming to the duke he appeared to me very much cast down, because he had put it into his head that the order which he had just then received from the king by M. d'Aligre, was only to deceive him, and make him believe that there was no thought of arresting him. It is impossible to express the agitation he was in. He fancied that every musket-shot he heard (and upon such occasions there are always many musket-shots) came from the regiment of guards that was sent to invest his palace. All those he sent to enquire brought him word that all was quiet, but he would believe nobody, and he was at every

instant looking out of the window, that he might the better hear whether there were any drums beating. At last he recovered a little courage, enough at least to ask me whether he might depend upon me? To which I answered only by this piece of a verse out of the *Cid* of Corneille: "Any one but my father."[1] This word set him a laughing, which was very extraordinary, when he was possessed with fear. "Give me a proof of it," continued he, "and come to a reconciliation with M. de Beaufort." "With all my heart, sir," replied I. He embraced me, and went himself to open the door of the gallery that joined to the door of his bedchamber, where he then was. I saw M. de Beaufort coming out of it, who took me round the neck, saying: "Ask his royal highness what I was just now saying to him upon your account. I can distinguish honest men. Come, sir, let us drive away the Mazarinians for good and all, and let us send them to the devil." The conversation opened in this manner, and the duke went on with it by an ambiguous speech, which in the mouth of Gaston of Foix[2] had been the forerunner of some great action, but in the mouth of Gaston of France, was to me only the presage of nothing at all. M. de Beaufort maintained, to the utmost of his power, the necessity and the possibility of the proposal he made, which was, that the duke should march at break of day directly to the market-place, and that he should set up barricades there, to be repeated where it should be thought best. At this the duke turned to me, saying as they do at the *Parlement*, "Your advice, sir, as eldest counsellor." I will set down here the very words I spoke, and the whole conversation, which I have transcribed from the original, as I dictated it to Montrésor at my coming home from the duke's, and which I have still by me written with his own hand.

"I think, indeed, sir, that I ought to speak in this conjuncture after the manner of the eldest counsellor of the *Parlement*, that is, after the manner he did when he moved for publick prayers for forty hours together. I know but of few conjunctures where there has been so much need of them. They would still be, sir, much more necessary to me than to any other, because I can give no advice but what must be attended with very dismal appear-

[1] The verse alluded to in this place is in a scene of Corneille's play called *Le Cid*, where a father having lately received an affront, asks his son if he has courage, the son answers: "*Tout autre que mon père l'éprouveroit sur l'heure.* Any one but my father should have immediate proof of it."

[2] Gaston of Foix, Duke de Nemours, was one of the bravest men of his time. He was killed at the battle of Ravenna in the year 1512, upon Easter Day, aged about twenty-three.

ances, and even with terrible inconveniencies. If I advise you to bear with the injurious treatment which you have met with, will not the publick, which is always inclined to think evil, have a reason or a pretence to say that I betray your interest, and that in giving you this advice I do but go on with the obstacles I have put to the designs of the prince? If I advise your royal highness to disobey, and to follow M. de Beaufort's views, will it be in my power to prevent people from thinking me to be a man who blows hot and cold; who is for peace when he is in hopes of gaining some advantages in treating of it; who is for war when he had been refused to treat of peace; who advises to destroy the city with fire and sword, and to set that fire to the gates of the Louvre by enterprizing against the king's person? This is, sir, what will be said of me, and what you may yourself believe at certain instants. I might have room, after having foretold your royal highness perhaps above a thousand times, that your uncertainties would bring you to the condition you are now in; I might have room, I say, to intreat you with all the respect I owe to your royal highness, to excuse me from speaking upon a matter, which I have already said more upon than anybody living. I will however make use but of half the right which I think I have, that is, that though I do not design to determine the way which your royal highness ought to follow, I will expose to your view the inconveniencies of both ways, with the same freedom as if I had any thought of chusing one of the two for myself. If your royal highness obeys, you are answerable to the whole kingdom for all that it will afterwards suffer. I will not pretend to judge of what that suffering may come to, for who can forejudge of an evil that depends on the punctilios of a Mazarin, on the impetuosity of an Ondedei, on the impertinence of an Abbot Fouquet, and on the violence of a Servien? But, in short, you will be answerable for all that they shall do against the publick, because the publick will be persuaded that it has been in your power to prevent it. If you do not obey, you run the risk of overturning the state."—The duke interrupted me at that word, saying with great eagerness: "You do not come to the point, which is to know whether I am in a condition to disobey?" "I believe so, sir," answered I, "for I do not see which way the court can go about to make you obey. The king must come in person to attack you here, which will be no easy matter." M. de Beaufort enlarged upon the impossibility of the attempt, and said so much that I perceived that the duke began likewise to think so, in which case he was altogether like to resolve upon

sitting idle, his inclination leading him always that way. I therefore thought myself obliged by all manner of reasons to clear that point to him, which I did by telling him, that there was a distinction to be made; that I owned that the people were not likely to suffer for the present that the duke should be taken forcibly away from his own palace, but that the king might in time bring matters to a pass that should enable him to do it; that by accustoming the people to acknowledge his authority, I made no doubt of his succeeding in it, and even quickly, because I made no doubt but that by using prudent measures, he would quickly accustom his people to obey his power; that that power would encrease at every instant; that it was already greater at ten at night, which was the hour that his clock had just then struck, than it was at five in the afternoon, and that the proof of this was evident by the king's rendering himself master of the Gate of the Conference, which he caused to be peaceably guarded, without anybody's murmuring at it, by the single regiment of guards, who certainly durst not have come near it, if the duke had pleased to have caused it to be shut for a quarter of an hour only, between three and four in the afternoon. That if his royal highness suffered all other posts of Paris to be taken possession of in like manner; if he suffered the *Parlement* to be abused, as it would be perhaps the next morning, I believed that perhaps the next afternoon there would be no great safety for him. This brought the duke again into his first fright, and made him cry out: "You mean that I cannot keep myself on the defensive?" "No, sir," answered I; "you can do what you please, from this time till to-morrow morning; but I would not answer for what you can do to-morrow night." M. de Beaufort, who thought that what I said was with a design to propose and to countenance the offensive part, was offering to second me, but I stopped him short by saying: "I perceive, sir, that you do not take me right. I speak to his royal highness in the manner I do, only because I have observed that he thinks he may securely stay in his palace against the king's will. I have no advice to give, in the state in which matters are. It has always belonged to the duke to determine. It even belongs to him to propose, and our business is only to execute. It shall never be said that I have advised him, either to suffer the treatment he meets with, or to set up barricades to-morrow morning. I have already acquainted him with the reasons I have to follow this conduct. He has commanded me to expose to his view the inconveniencies which I perceive on both sides, and I have done it." The duke

gave me leave to speak as much as I would, and after having taken two or three turns about the chamber, he came back to me and said: "If I resolve to dispute the ground, will you declare for me?" "Yes, sir," answered I, "and without any hesitation. I ought to do it; I am attached to your service; do but command, and you shall certainly see me obey. But I shall be grieved at heart at it, because in the condition things are in, it is impossible for an honest man not to be grieved, whatever you resolve upon."

The duke, who was not otherwise good than because he was an easy man, and who was not naturally tender, was moved however at what I told him. Tears came to his eyes, he embraced me, and of a sudden he asked me whether I thought that he might render himself master of the king's person. I told him that nothing in the world was more impossible, the Gate of Conference being guarded as it was. M. de Beaufort proposed some means which were impracticable in every respect. He offered to go and post himself at the entrance of the Cours with the duke's household. In short, he said many foolish things in my opinion. I persisted to speak and act in the manner I had done, and I perceived before I left the duke (and to say the truth, I perceived it with pleasure) that he would chuse to obey, for I observed in him all the appearance possible of joy for my forbearing to countenance the offensive part, notwithstanding which he spoke of nothing else the rest of the time we staid with him, and he even commanded us to get our friends in a readiness, and to come to his palace all of us at break of day. M. de Beaufort perceived as well as I, that the duke was against doing anything, and as we were coming downstairs, he said to me: "This gentleman is not capable of a vigorous action." "And much less capable," said I, "to go on with it, which makes me think you mad to propose it to him in the state in which things are." "I find you hardly know him yet," replied he; "if I had not proposed it to him, he would have reproached me with it for ten years together."

I found at my coming home Montrésor, who was staying for me, and who made a mighty jest of my scruples, for so he called all the regard I had shewn in the conversation I had with the duke, which he wrote down as I was dictating it to him. That gentleman assured me very positively that the duke had a greater desire to be at Limours than the queen had to send him thither, but upon the whole, he owned that the court had committed a terrible fault in pushing him to it, because the fear

of not thinking himself safe there, might easily put him upon undertaking what he would never have thought on, if the least regard had been shewn to him. The event has likewise justified that imprudence, which was so much the greater, because at court where they had ground to look upon me as upon a man exasperated and full of distrust, they were, in my opinion, far from doing me the justice to believe that my sentiments for the state were so right as in truth they were. I am indeed convinced, that considering the duke's humour, which it was impossible to change; considering besides the division of the party, to which no remedy could be found by reason of an infinity of circumstances, and of the confusion, past, present, and to come, occasioned by that division; I am convinced, I say, that it would have been impossible to support anything that had been undertaken, which reason alone, setting aside all others, was sufficient to deter anybody from advising the duke to undertake anything. But I am no less convinced that the duke would for the present have succeeded in his enterprize, and that he had driven the king away from Paris. Many persons will take what I say for a paradox, but all great things that remain unexecuted appear always impracticable to those who are incapable of anything great, and I am sure that there were some who were not surprized at the barricades which the Duke de Guise set up, who had looked upon the thing as ridiculous if they had heard it mentioned a quarter of an hour before they were raised. I do not know whether I have not already said in some place or other of these memoirs, that what has made some men the most remarkable by some great actions, is their having observed before others the critical minute which made the undertaking of them possible.

I return to the duke. He set out for Limours a little before break of day, and he even affected to be gone an hour sooner than he had appointed M. de Beaufort and me to come to him. We found Jouy, expecting us by his order at the gate of his palace, who told us from him, that he had had his reasons for doing as he did, which we should know some time or other, and that we had best come to an accommodation with the court if it was possible. As for my part, I was not surprized at his conduct: M. de Beaufort exclaimed much against it.

Upon the 22nd the king held his seat of justice at the Louvre. He caused there four declarations to be read. The first was that of the amnesty; the second was for the recalling the *Parlement* to Paris; the third was an order for M. de Beaufort, as well as

for Messieurs de Rohan, Viole, de Thou, Broussel, Portail, Bitaut, Croissy, Machaut, Fleury, Martineau, and Perraut, to leave Paris; and in that same declaration the *Parlement* was forbidden to meddle for the future with any matters of state; the fourth established a chamber of vacations. The *Parlement* had agreed in the morning before they went to the king that the company should make some instances to his majesty about having those of their body who were exiled restored to their functions. They all of them obeyed their orders that same day. I went to the queen's in the afternoon, where she commanded me to go with her into her little cabinet. She used me extremely well; she told me that she knew that I had softned both people's minds and affairs, as much as I had it in my power; that she believed I would have done it still more readily and more publickly, if I had not been obliged to observe many regards with my friends, who were not all of them in the same sentiments; that she pitied me, and would help me out of the trouble I was in. You find in all this a great deal of civility, and even of kindness. But see what it tended to at the bottom. She was more incensed at me than ever, because Beloy, who belonged to the duke, but who always was secretly attached to some other, and who had renewed his former measures with the court since the affairs of the prince had been declining, had sent her notice in the morning as soon as she was awake, that I had offered to the duke to do whatever he would command me. Not that he knew anything of the particulars of what passed the evening before between the duke, M. de Beaufort, and me; but entring with Jouy into the duke's chamber as soon as we had left him, the duke, whom they found both moved and troubled, said to them: "I might, if I pleased, prepare a fine dance for the Spanish woman." Beloy, either maliciously, or moved only by curiosity, answered the duke: "But, sir, can your royal highness depend intirely upon the Cardinal de Retz?" "The Cardinal de Retz," replied the duke, "is an honest man and will not fail me." Jouy, who had heard this, informed me of it in the morning, and I made no doubt but that Beloy had likewise sent an account of it to the queen. But the queen could not be informed that at the same time that I had offered to the duke what my honour obliged me to, I had omitted nothing of what my honour likewise gave me leave to do, to prevent the overturning of the state. At the very moment that Jouy acquainted me with this, I made a serious reflection upon the scruples which Montrésor had made a jest of and blamed me for, the night before. It is true that such

scruples meet with no success in courts, at least commonly; but there are persons who prefer to success, the inward satisfaction they find in themselves.

You would have been surprized at the manner in which I answered the queen, if I had not given you beforehand this little account, which contains the reasons I had to speak to her as I did. I do not mean as to matter of sincerity, for you have seen that even before, I seldom failed to use the like in speaking to her. I told her that I had a sensible joy in having at last met with the moment which I had for so long passionately wished for, which was to serve her without any restriction: that so long as his royal highness had been ingaged in affairs, I could not follow my own inclination by reason of my ingagement with him, in which she knew that I had never deceived her: that if I had had the honour to speak in private to her majesty the day before, I would have discovered to her freely, as my custom was, the manner in which I was obliged in honour to behave myself with the duke: that his royal highness having left Paris, fully resolved to meddle no more with any publick affairs, had by that freed me from my ingagements, and restored me to the liberty of following now my own inclination, which was such a pleasure to me that I could not well enough express it to her majesty. She answered me in the most civil manner, but I perceived that she would fain have put me upon discovering the dispositions in which the duke was. I easily satisfied her, and she was pleased with what I said, for I assured her, and it was certainly true, that the duke was resolved to keep quiet in his solitude. "We must not suffer him to stay there," replied she; "he may be useful to the king and to the state: it is necessary that you should go and fetch him back." I was extremely surprized at this, because I must confess that I expected nothing like it, and that at first I could not well comprehend what her meaning was. But I quickly found it out, not that she explained it to me clearly, but by her giving me to understand that it was in the duke's power to re-establish himself better than ever in the king's favour, by crowning the good conduct he had followed, with just and reasonable concessions, in which he might even get his own objects. You see that there was nothing very obscure in these expressions. When the queen perceived that I answered only in general terms, she closed herself up, and appeared quite changed, not only in respect to the matter we were upon, but to the manner in which she had at first treated me. I saw her blush, and she began to speak more coldly, which was always with her a sign

of being angry. She came to herself however in a little time, and she asked me whether I continued to confide in Madam de Chevreuse? To which I answered that I continued to be her very humble servant. She took me up at that word very hastily, and, as I thought, she did it with some pleasure. "I understand you," said she; "you confide more in the Princess Palatine, and you are in the right." "I put a great trust," replied I, "in the Princess Palatine, but I beseech your majesty to give me leave to rely on nobody but yourself." "With all my heart," said she, pretty kindly in appearance: "Adieu: the whole nobility of France are within staying for me."

PART VIII

I MUST desire you to give me leave to inform you in this place of some particulars that are necessary to convince you that persons who are at the head of great affairs meet with no less trouble from those of their own party than from enemies. The enemies I had, though extremely powerful in the state, the one by his birth, his merit, and his faction, and the other by his favour, had not been able, with all their efforts, to oblige me to quit my post, and I may say without vanity that I had kept it and even with dignity by sailing only a little with the wind, if the different interests, or rather the different chimeras of my friends had not put me against my will upon following a conduct which occasioned my ruin, because it persuaded the court that I was resolved to hold it out against wind and tide. To let you into these particulars, which are pretty curious, it is necessary in my opinion that I should let you likewise into some particulars that relate to a certain number of persons who were called my friends. I make use of that expression, because many that went by that name were not really such.

I had not broken, for example, with Madam de Chevreuse nor with Laigue. Noirmoutier had left nothing undone to reconcile himself to me, and at the instance of all my friends I had been obliged to receive him and to live civilly with him. Montrésor, who at all adventures had declared to me an hundred times in his life that he was in my interest in dependance only of the house of Guise, pretended a right however to enter into my affairs, because he had been let into the secret of some of them. That right, which consists properly in having a hand in negotiations, he had in common with the persons I have just now named. He made not the like use of it in this last conjuncture as the others did, though he spoke as much and more about it. He was satisfied to appear discontented and to complain when he came to me in the evening, but he took no ill steps towards the court, as M. de Noirmoutier did, who to gain some credit with Cardinal Mazarin, whom he went to see upon the frontiers, shewed him one of my letters, the date of which he had falsified, and wherein I had formerly charged him with a commission, which, as he pretended, had relation to the present time. The cardinal suspected the cheat, by reason of some circumstances which I have forgot, and

he never forgave it that gentleman. Madam de Chevreuse did not use me in that manner, but having found at court neither the regard nor the trust which she expected, she was seeking after some intrigue, and she would have been glad, at the king's coming back to Paris, to have meddled with my concerns which appeared to be of consequence, because they were looked upon as a thing previous and necessary to the return of the cardinal. Laigue, who had treated me pretty freely before my going to Compiègne, began to see me again regularly, and almost upon the ancient foot; and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse herself made some advances to be reconciled to me, by her mother's order if I am not very much mistaken. She had the finest eyes in the world, and a certain art of turning them, that was admirable and altogether peculiar to her. I just took notice of them, and no more, the evening she arrived at Paris, and I lived civilly both with her and with her mother, as well as with Laigue, and that was all.

One might think that the conduct I followed on this occasion would have been enough to have served my turn: but it proved not so; and there was a reason for it, which is, that the advances that those who acknowledge their ill conduct, make to the great man they have offended, will infallibly always turn to his disadvantage, if he rejects those advances, or receives them but slightly, it being hardly possible that those who think themselves slighted, should not preserve a resentment for it, and have a fling at him, at least in their heat. I know that Laigue used me in that manner, and even grossly, before several persons and on several occasions. I have heard nothing like it of Madam de Chevreuse, which is not to be wondered at, because she has a natural goodness in her, or rather a natural easiness. As for Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, she could not pardon me the resistance I had offered to her eyes; and the Abbot Fouquet said, after that lady's death, to a person of quality from whom I had it, that she hated me as much as she had loved me. I can take my oath with all manner of assurance, that I had never given her the least occasion for it. The poor lady died of a malignant fever, that carried her off in four and twenty hours, before her physicians so much as dreamed that she was in the least danger. I saw her for a moment with the dutchess her mother, who was by her bedside, and who little thought that she was to lose her daughter the next morning by break of day.

I had a second sort of friends, that is, persons who kept themselves wrapt up in the party of the Fronde, and who at the time

that that party was subdivided, had stuck particularly close to me. This second sort was composed of persons of several degrees, who all agreed however in a point, which was that they all expected that my accommodation with the court would turn very much to their particular advantage, whereby they were already disposed to believe that if I did not do for them what they expected, it would be, not for want of power, but for want of will. These sorts of persons are extremely troublesome, because in a great party there is always a great number to whom it is impossible to discover all that the heads of the party are able or not able to do, and to whom it is consequently impossible to justify what is done. That evil is without any remedy, and is of the nature of those in which one ought to seek a satisfaction in one's own conscience only. Mine has been all my life long more tender upon that matter than it is convenient to a man who has meddled with so great affairs as I have done. There are but few matters wherein scruples are of less service. It is true that by the event I suffered no inconveniencies in the present conjuncture; but I had already suffered enough in my imagination.

The third sort of friends whom I had at that time, was a chosen number of persons of quality who were united to me both by interest and by friendship, who were in my confidence, and with whom I faithfully concerted what I was to do. These were Messieurs de Brissac, de Bellièvre, and de Caumartin, with whom M. de Montrésor, as I have already said, joined himself, by reason of many past affairs in which he had had a share. There was not one in this little number that had not a right to my friendship. The quality of M. de Brissac, and his attachment to me in my most troublesome affairs, obliged me to have a greater regard for his interest than for my own, and so much the more, that he had not had the advantage stipulated for him in relation to the government of Anjou at the time that the princes were arrested. I cannot say however that it was either the fault of the court or mine, the treaty which he was entered into failing only for want of the money which he could not pay. But in short he had had nothing, and it was just, at least in respect to me, that he should be provided for. The President de Bellièvre had had for some time the place of first president in view, but being a man of good sense, he thought no more of it as soon as he saw the court get the uppermost, and the very day that the duke and the prince sent Messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, to St. Germain, he said these words to me: "I must do like the snail, retire within my shell; there is nothing more to expect,

and I desist from all pretensions." He was as good as his word; and a great and dangerous defluction that fell at that time on one of his eyes, served as a pretence to it, and made his retirement not seem strange.

M. de Caumartin went into Poitou to be married, a month or five weeks before the king resolved upon returning, and he continued there when the court arrived at Paris. He had certainly had a greater share than any one in my most secret affairs, he had acted with a greater faithfulness and capacity, and even without any private interest, except that which his honour put him upon on an occasion in which he knew better than any man living that there was nothing real in the case. The injustice done him upon that subject, obliges me to explain the particulars of it to you.

You have seen in an earlier part of these memoirs, that the duke was drawn on by the prince to ask the queen for the removal of the sub-ministers, and that I would have prevented his royal highness from taking that step if he would have believed me, because it was in effect good for nothing at all, and worse for him than for anybody else. Laigue, who looked upon the sub-ministers as on men undone, and who was the man in the world upon whose fancy these novelties worked the most, put it into his head to procure the place of secretary of war, which M. le Tellier had, for de Nouveau. Madam de Chevreuse mentioned that chimera in the presence of the little Abbot de Bernay, who reported it to M. de Caumartin. This last was in the right to dislike the thing. He came to my house and asked me if I knew anything of that design. I smiled, and told him that he must take me for a madman by the question he asked me. That he was not ignorant that nobody knew better than I that we were not in a condition to create secretaries of state; and besides, that if we were in a condition to do it, our choice would not fall upon M. de Nouveau. Caumartin exclaimed much against Madam de Chevreuse and Laigue, which he had a right to do: "For though I am fully persuaded," (said he) "that what they propose is impertinent, it shews however that I am not to depend upon their friendship." "You are much in the right," (answered I) "and I will to-morrow tell them freely my opinion about it. At the time" (added I) "that I am doing my utmost with the duke to prevent his pushing M. le Tellier too far, they will be the cause by their ill conduct, that le Tellier will think it is I who am working his ruin."

I upbraided them both with it the next day, but they denied

the fact; this made a noise, and that noise came to the ears of M. le Tellier, who thought by it that we were already in dispute about his place. He never forgave it, as it has appeared to me since, either to M. de Caumartin, or to me. Most enmities that are seen at courts, have no better ground than this, and I have observed that those that are the worst grounded are the most obstinate. The reason of it is plain; for offences which occasion enmities of this nature, consisting chiefly in the imagination, never fail to grow bigger and bigger, in a soil which always abounds but too much in evil humours, the proper food of all enmities. Forgive me this small digression, which even is not unnecessary to the subject I am treating of, since it shews you that I was still the more obliged not to forget M. de Caumartin's interest in my accommodation. It was not that gentleman however that obstructed it. He very well knew that there was not stuff enough left to be prodigal of. He had told me several times before he went into Poitou, that it was hard, but that it was necessary that we should suffer, even from the ill conduct of our enemies: that as for his part he ceased to look for any private advantage, and that the only thing to be minded now was to save the ship, in which he might again set sail, as opportunities should present: that that ship, which was myself, could not be saved in the state into which things were fallen by the irresolution of the duke, but by standing aloof, and sailing eastward, that is, towards Rome. I remember that the day he took his leave of me before he went into Poitou, he spoke to me in this manner: "You stand now but upon the point of a needle, and if they knew at court their power in respect to you, they would use you as they will do others. Your courage makes you hold a countenance that deceives and disquiets them. Make use of this instant to get what will be of service to you for your post at Rome; they will do upon that article all that you desire."

Of these few friends, M. de Montrésor was then the only one left, and he was continually saying, that as for him, he had no kind of pretensions. He had even turned into ridicule a letter he had received out of the country from Chandenier, who wrote him word that he made no doubt but that I should restore him to his post,[1] and make him a duke and peer in this conjuncture. It was, however, this M. de Montrésor who caused all the trouble, and who did it without being moved by any private interest, but only by a meer whim. One evening that we were all

[1] Of captain of the *Gardes de Corps*, or Life Guards, of which he had been deprived for some time.

sitting round my fire, Joly, who was present, said upon occasion of something that was spoken in the conversation, that he had received a letter from M. de Caumartin. He read it, and that letter was full of the sentiments which I have mentioned, and which were even expressed with a great deal of force. I observed that Montrésor, who did not naturally love him, appeared with an air full of mystery mixed with sourness, at the hearing it, and being extremely well acquainted with his manners and his humour, I let some words fall on purpose to oblige him to explain himself. It was no difficult matter, for he cried out of a sudden, and even swearing: "We are not men to be led by the nose; he is a villain who says that his eminence ought or can come to an honourable accommodation except he procures something advantagious for his friends. He that says so, has a mind to acquire all for himself." These words, added to the peevish humour I had observed in him for some days against the Princess Palatine, convinced me that he thought that Caumartin, who was a particular friend of that princess's, had taken some private measures with her, tending to his own profit, exclusively of the rest. I did my best to undeceive him, but without success. He succeeded better in deceiving the others, for he brought the like suspicion into the head of M. de Brissac, who was indeed a man of wax, and the most susceptible of any impressions of any one I ever knew. M. de Brissac inspired the like thought in Madam de Lesdiguières, who loved him entirely at that time. Persons who are in these bad dispositions, never fail to support them with all manner of ideas, that will serve to persuade them that a conduct, opposite to that which they stand in fear of, is not only a thing possible, but even easy. A like fancy gets into the heads of others, and is communicated to the subalterns of the party. The secret is whispered about from ear to ear, and causes at first but a little murmuring: that murmuring changes into a noise which causes three or four pernicious effects, both in respect to one's own party, and in respect to the party one opposes. This is exactly what happened to me, and I was surprized to see all my friends divided upon what I should or what I should not do, as well as upon what I could or what I could not do, which brought the court to look upon me as upon a man who either pretended to share the ministry, or to sell my pretensions very dear. I perceived and felt the danger of the situation I was in, and yet I resolved to run all the risk, to which I was moved by that same principle which has caused me all my life long to take too much upon me,

There is nothing so pernicious, according to the rules of politicks. We seldom have any thanks given us for it, and it is certain that of all things, good intentions ought the least to be overstretched. I have met with great inconveniencies from not observing that rule, both in matters of state, and in domestick affairs. But everybody will allow that it is a very hard matter to forsake what flatters at once our inclination and our morals. That is the reason why I could hardly ever repent the following that conduct, though it has cost me my imprisonment, and all the consequences of it, which have not been little. If I had followed a contrary one, by accepting the offers of M. Servien, I should have got out of trouble, and have avoided all the misfortunes which have since almost crushed me.

I could not indeed have avoided at first an inconvenience which always attends those who being at the head of great affairs, get themselves out of them, without procuring some advantages to those who are ingaged with them. Time would have put an end to their complaints, which fortune might even have turned to my advantage by some good events. I can perceive all this, but without regretting it, having been led with pleasure to an opposite conduct, by the motive which I have mentioned. And considering that, except religion and good manners, all the rest ought in my opinion to be looked upon as indifferent, I think I may reasonably be well satisfied with what I have done. I refused, as I have told you, M. Servien's proposals, which were, that the king would grant me the superintendancy of his affairs in Italy, with a pension of 50,000 crowns a year; that I should receive 100,000 crowns towards paying my debts, and 50,000 for the furniture of a palace at Rome, where I was to stay for three years, after which I was left at liberty to return to my post at Paris. I did not, however, refuse M. Servien point blank. I continued to live civilly with him: he came to my house, and I went to his. We entered into a negotiation, but he soon judged that it would come to nothing, because his power did not extend to anything that related to the interest of my friends, though I had felt his pulse upon that subject, to which he was opposite at the bottom. The Princess Palatine, in whom I confided most, was not fully persuaded at first, that nothing was to be done for my friends. But she perceived at last that there was even something worse than that upon the anvil, and that the ill offices of Servien, and of the Abbot Fouquet, extended further than to the breaking my negotiation.

She informed me of it, and she declared to me that she would

no longer meet me at Joly's, where she was used to come to me in a hackney-chair, by a back door, between ten and eleven at night. She convinced me that there was some danger for me in these secret conferences, and she frankly told me, that I ought to treat with the cardinal himself, because all the subalterns were against me, one for one reason, another for another. Madam de Lesdiguières sent me word that all I had to do, was to set a good face upon the matter, and to stay at my own house: that the cardinal, who was amusing himself on the frontiers upon trifling matters in M. de Turenne's army, where you may be sure he had but little to do, and who was impatient to be at Paris, but who durst not come thither so long as I remained there, would build a golden bridge for my going out of it, and would grant me whatever I should ask him. The first president had spoken to Madam de Lesdiguières in that strain, and had told her, that to his knowledge they wished for nothing more at court, than to come to an accommodation with me, which occasioned Joly, as I remember, to say to me: "A new blow." It was a blow indeed; for though all these reports did not persuade me, they were an obstacle to my concluding anything with Servien, and they at last obliged me to follow the Princess Palatine's advice, which was to treat with the cardinal himself.

I wrote to the Bishop of Chalons, to desire him to go to his eminence, and to declare plainly my demands to him, which were the government of Anjou for M. de Brissac, and some posts likewise for Messieurs de Montmorency, d'Argenteuil, de Châteaubriant, etc. There was no manner of difficulty as to these last, and I am persuaded that there had been but little in relation to M. de Brissac. Langlade, who passed just at that time through Chalons, retarded undesignedly the bishop's journey, by telling him that the cardinal was to be at such a place upon such a day. That delay was the cause of my imprisonment, because Servien and the Abbot Fouquet hastened it by telling the queen that there was too much danger in leaving things in the state in which they were. They never ceased to buzz in her ears that I continued my correspondence with the annuitants, that I did my best to inflame them, and that I was likewise forming cabals with the trained band officers. An accident happened on November 13, which contributed very much to incense the court. The king held his seat of justice at the *Parlement*, in order to have his declaration, whereby he declared the Prince of Condé guilty of high treason, registered there, and he had sent to me the day before, Saintot, lieutenant

of the ceremonies, to command me in his name to be present there. My answer to Saintot was, that I most humbly begged leave of his majesty to represent to him, that considering upon what terms I was with the prince, I thought that it would be neither just nor becoming that I should give my vote in a deliberation upon which his condemnation depended. Saintot replied to this, that somebody having told the queen that I would use that argument to excuse myself, her majesty had answered that it was good for nothing, and that M. de Guise, who owed his liberty [1] to the instances which the prince had made in his behalf, would be present, notwithstanding. I told Saintot upon this, that if I was of the same profession as M. de Guise, I should glory in imitating the great actions he had lately done at Naples.

You cannot imagine how much the queen was exasperated at my excuse. It was explained to her as a convincing proof of the regard I had for the prince, and what I did purely and sincerely out of a principle of civility, to which I am still persuaded that I was obliged, passed with her for a certain proof of the measures which I had already taken, or was upon the point of taking with him. Nothing was falser, and yet nothing was more believed; and the queen was so strongly persuaded of it that she resolved to play quit or double to get rid of me.

Touteville, a captain in the guards and one of the Abbot Fouquet's satellites, hired a house pretty near Madam de Pommereux's, in which he designed to put a set of men to attack me. Le Fay, an officer in the artillery, and one of those who had assisted at the ridiculous assembly at the Palais-Royal, insinuated himself with Péan, who was at that time clerk of my kitchen, and whom you have seen since my steward, in order to be informed of him at what hours I went out at night. Pradelle had an order signed by the king's own hand, to attack me in the streets and to take me dead or alive. That which was given to the Marshal de Vitry, when he killed the Marshal d'Ancre, was not more strict. I have heard of this order given to Pradelle only since my return into France, by means of the Archbishop of Rheims, who said two or three years ago to the Bishop of

[1] The Duke de Guise had been taken prisoner at Naples by the Spaniards, and removed to Spain, where he was kept in prison for several years, and in all likelihood had remained there longer, if the Prince of Condé, who had now joined the Spaniards, had not interposed his good offices with them in the duke's behalf; notwithstanding which, the duke, after he had recovered his liberty, refused to join with the prince, or to enter into his party.

Chalons and to M. de Caumartin, that he had seen the original of it. I had some notice given me time enough of Touteville's design, but I looked upon it to be but the view of a hair-brained man, who complained of me for having favoured to his prejudice a friend of mine who courted one Mme. Darmet. I ought at least to have taken a greater notice about le Fay's offers to the clerk of my kitchen, but I looked upon it as an effect only of the unquietness of the subalterns, who would set a watch upon my actions. M. de Brissac told me one day that I ought to look to myself with a greater precaution; that he received informations from all hands relating to me, and that he had that moment received a note from an unknown hand, intreating him to prevent my going that day to Rambouillet, where we had taken a fancy to go and walk, though we were very far gone in November. I made no doubt but that this note was written by somebody belonging to the court, with a design to sound both my courage and my strength. I went thither accompanied by two hundred gentlemen, and I found there a great many officers of the guards, and among others Rubantel, a trusty confident of the Abbot Fouquet's. I do not know whether their design was to attack me, but they found me in a condition not to be attacked. They saluted me with a great deal of respect, I entered into conversation with some of them whom I knew, and I came back to my house as well pleased with myself as if I had committed no fault. But what I did was certainly wrong, and was only likely to incense the court the more against me. It is natural upon such motives to grow angry and to fall into passions, in which it is very hard to preserve a right conduct. What I am going to tell you will shew you further in what my conduct was defective.

I designed to preach during the Advent, at least upon Sundays and holydays, in the most considerable churches in Paris, and I began upon All Saints' Day at St. Germain, which is the king's parish. Their majesties did me the honour to assist at my sermon, and I went the next day to return them thanks. But the information I received about the danger I ran, increasing daily, I ceased to go to the Louvre, in which I committed a fault, in my opinion; for I believe that that circumstance contributed more than any other to determine the queen to cause me to be arrested. I only say that I believe it, it being impossible to know it for certain, except one knew first whether Cardinal Mazarin had designed beforehand that I should be arrested, or whether he only approved of the thing after it was

done. It is what I could never precisely know, those that belonged to the court having since spoken to me very differently about it. Lionne has all along told me that the cardinal had formed no design against my person; and somebody, whom I have forgot, has assured me that he had heard M. le Tellier say the contrary. What is most certain is, that had it not been for a circumstance which I shall mention immediately, I had not gone to the Louvre, but had kept upon my guard, so that notwithstanding the order given to Pradelle, I had in all likelihood puzzled the matter long enough at least to await Cardinal Mazarin's answer. I was advised from all hands to keep at home, and I remember that M. d'Hacqueville told me one evening with some anger: "You have been able to keep within doors during three weeks upon account of the prince: is it possible that you cannot stay at home during three days upon account of the king?"

I will tell you what prevented me from doing it. Madam de Lesdiguières, whom I had reason to think very well informed, and who was in effect commonly so, pressed me extremely to go to the Louvre, saying that I could not but own that supposing there was no danger for me in going, it would be best for me to go for many reasons. I agreed to what she said if indeed I might go there with safety, which was a supposition I could not allow. "Are you," said she, "hindered from going by that consideration only?" "By no other," answered I. "Then you may go to-morrow," replied she, "for I am very well informed of all the game that is playing there." That game was, that they had held there a secret council, in which after great contests it had been resolved that they should come to an accommodation with me, and should even give me satisfaction in relation to my friends. I am fully convinced that Madam de Lesdiguières did not deceive me, neither am I less persuaded that the Marshal de Villeroy did not deceive Madam de Lesdiguières. But the marshal was himself deceived, which has been the reason that I have never spoken to him of it. I was drawn in this manner to go to the Louvre upon December 19, and I was arrested in the queen's ante-chamber by M. de Villequier, who served his quarter as captain of the guards.

M. d'Hacqueville was very near to have prevented it. He was walking in the court as I came into the Louvre, and joining me as I came out of my coach, we went together to Madam de Villeroy, where I designed to stay till the king could be waited upon. That gentleman left me there and went upstairs where

he met with Montmège, who told him, that it was in everybody's mouth that I was going to be arrested. M. d'Hacqueville hearing this came downstairs as fast as he could to inform me of it, and to lead me away by the kitchen court which was next to Madam de Villeroy's apartment. I was gone up, but he missed me but a moment, which moment would have infallibly procured my liberty: I am as much obliged to M. d'Hacqueville as if he had got me safe away, but I know that gentleman too well not to be convinced that it was otherwise with him. M. de Villequier carried me to an apartment where the officers of the king's kitchen brought me some dinner. They took it mighty ill at court that I had dined very heartily, so great is the corruption and baseness of courtiers. I had more reason to take it ill to have my pockets turned inside out, as they do to pickpockets. M. de Villequier had orders to do it, though it was an uncommon thing. They found there nothing but a letter of the King of England,[1] who charged me to make some attempt at Rome, towards raising him a sum of money there. The noise of this letter was immediately spread up and down the court; and a man of quality, whose name I shall forbear to mention in regard to one of his brothers who is my friend, thought to make his court by saying that it must needs be a letter from the Protector, and not the King of England: how base that was! About three in the afternoon I was taken all along the great gallery of the Louvre, and I was brought down the stairs of the pavillion of the Dutchess of Orleans. We met with one of the king's coaches, into which I was put, having with me M. de Villequier, and five or six officers of the life guards. The coach was driven at first towards the city, but it turned of a sudden towards the Gate of the Conference. It was guarded by the Marshal d'Albret at the head of the *gens d'armes*, by M. de la Vauguyon at the head of the light horse, and by M. de Vennes, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of guards, who had with him eight companies of that regiment. As they designed to carry me out by the gate of St. Anthony, and as they must go near two other gates before they got thither, they had posted at each gate a batallion of Switzers, who presented their pikes to the town as we went by. You see by this that there was a great deal of precaution used, and that without any manner of need. Not one soul stirred in the city. There appeared there sorrow and consternation, but it was not carried to any commotion, either because the conster-

[1] The whole account in relation to this letter may be referred to at length in the Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.*

nation was in effect too great, or because those that were well affected to me were discouraged to find nobody appear that would head them. I have heard since people speak differently about it. Le Houx, a butcher, but a man of credit with the people, has told me that all the butchers of the Place-aux-Veaux were upon the point of taking up arms, and that if the Duke de Brissac had not assured them that that was a sure way to have me murthered, he would have set up barricades at that quarter with the greatest ease possible. L'Espinal has told me the like of the whole street of Montmartre. But as I think, the Marquis de Château-Regnaut, who was that whole day very busy in attempting to stir up the people, has told me that he found no room to do it; and I know for certain that Malclerc, who ran up and down, to the same purpose, over the bridges of Notre-Dame and of St. Michael, which were at my disposal, found all the women there crying and all the men in a fright and incapable of doing anything. However nobody can be answerable for what might have happened, had there been but a sword drawn. When there is none drawn on these occasions, everybody judges that nothing could have been done, and if there had been no barricades at the taking of M. de Broussel, those that had spoken the least word even of the possibility of the thing, had been laughed at. I arrived at Vincennes betwixt eight and nine at night, and the Marshal d'Albret having asked me as I came out of the coach, if I had no message to send to the king, I answered him that I should think it a want of respect in me if I took that liberty.

I was carried into a great room where there was neither hangings nor bed. The bed that was set up about eleven at night was of Indian silk, which was not very proper for the winter season. I slept very well, which ought not to be attributed to any firmness, because misfortunes naturally produce that effect on me.[1] I have experienced in more than one occasion, that it keeps me awake in the daytime, and inclines me to sleep at night. It is not, as I have said, the effect of any firmness of mind, having observed after a thorough examination, that it proceeds from the heaviness into which I fall, when the reflections I make upon anything that troubles me, are not diverted by my struggling against them. I take a mighty pleasure in unfolding

[1] M. de St. Evremont, speaking of Mademoiselle de Beverweert, sister of the late Countess of Arlington, etc., says that she never slept so well as when she was under some great affliction. See the *Works* of St. Evremond, published in Holland by M. des Maizeaux, volume the fourth, p. 55.

myself to you, if I may use that expression, and in giving you an account of the most secret motions of my heart.

I was obliged to rise the next morning without any fire, there being no wood to make any; but the three officers of the guards that were with me when I came first to the castle, were so kind as to assure me that I should have some the next day. He that was left to stay in the room with me, kept the next day the wood for himself, and so he did for a whole fortnight together, that I was left without any fire at Christmas in a room as big as a church. That officer's name was Croisat, he was a Gascon, and had been, at least as the report went, *valet-de-chambre* to Servien. I do not believe that it had been possible to have found his like in the whole world. He took away from me my linen, my clothes, my shoes, and I was sometimes obliged to stay in bed for eight or ten days together, for want of anything to put on. I do not believe that I could have been treated in that manner, without an express order for it, and without a formed design to kill me with grief. I armed myself against that design, and I resolved not to die at least that sort of death. I diverted myself at first in composing the life of my officer, who was as great a rogue, without any exaggeration, as Lazarillo of Tormes,[1] or Buscon. I brought him at last to cease to torment me, by taking no manner of notice of whatever he could say or do. I never appeared angry at him, I never complained of anything, and never gave him the least room to think that I was offended at anything he said, though he said not one word but with an intent to vex me. He caused a little garden of two or three fathom to be made in the yard belonging to the tower, and as I was asking him what he intended to do with it, he told me that he designed to have asparagus in it, which you must observe are three years a growing. This was one of his softest sayings, and I was regaled every day with twenty such, which I took care to swallow with as much ease as possible, but that did but increase his brutishness, because he said that I laughed at him.

The instances of the chapter of the cathedral, and of all the curates of Paris, who acted for me to the utmost of their power, though my uncle, who was the weakest man in the world, and jealous of me even to the making himself ridiculous, supported them but very faintly; their instances, I say, obliged the court to explain themselves about the causes of my imprisonment, which was done by the mouth of the chancellor. That magistrate

[1] Two Spanish rogues, whose lives and actions have been written in Spanish, and have been translated in most other languages.

declared to these several bodies, in the presence of the king and of the queen-mother, that his majesty had caused me to be arrested for my own good only, and to hinder me from executing what there was room to believe I had in view. The chancellor has told me since my return into France, that it was he that persuaded the queen to approve that he should give that turn to this affair, under pretence of eluding more plausibly the demand which the church of Paris made in a body, either to bring me to a trial, or to set me at liberty; and he added, that his true design had been to serve me, in obliging the court to acknowledge my innocence, at least as to matters past.

It is certain that my friends made a mighty use of that answer of the chancellor's, which was set off as it ought, in two or three very ingenious pamphlets. M. de Caumartin did, in this conjuncture and in those that followed, all that the most sincere friendship and the most refined honour could inspire him with. M. d'Hacqueville redoubled his care and his zeal for me. The chapter of Nôtre-Dame caused an anthem to be sung every day publickly and expressly for my liberty. Not one of the curates, except that of St. Bartholomew, forsook me. The Sorbonne signalized itself, and even many of the regulars declared openly and vigorously for me. The Bishop of Chalons warmed the hearts and the minds of others, by his reputation and his example. This kind of general stirring obliged the court to use me a little better than they had done at first. I was allowed a certain number of books, but without any ink or paper, and I had likewise a *valet-de-chambre* and a physician granted me; upon which occasion I must not omit a circumstance, somewhat remarkable. This physician, who was a man of merit and of reputation in his profession, and whose name was Vacherot, told me the same day that he arrived at Vincennes, that M. de Caumartin had charged him to inform me, that Goisel, an advocate who had foretold the liberty of M. de Beaufort, had assured him that I should have mine in the month of March, but in an imperfect manner, and that I should not have it fully and intirely till the month of August. You will find by the sequel that the prediction was true.

I applied myself very much to study during the whole time of my imprisonment at Vincennes, which lasted fifteen months, and I imployed in it not only the days, but even the nights. I made a particular study of the Latin tongue, to which I found that it is impossible to apply oneself too much, because that study comprehends all others. I made some observations upon

the Greek tongue, and upon the ninth decade of Livy which I had very much liked formerly and in which I met again with a new relish. In imitation of Boëtius, I composed the *Consolation of Theology*, wherein I shewed that every prisoner ought to endeavour to make himself the *Vinctus in Christo*, of which St. Paul speaks. I gathered in a kind of miscellany many things upon different subjects, and among others an application for the use of the church of Paris of what was contained in the book of the acts of the church of Milan, and I intitled that work *Partus Vincennarum*. My officer omitted nothing to interrupt the quiet of my studies, and to give me as much vexation as he thought he could. He told me one day, that the king had ordered him to lead me upon the terrace to take the air. When he thought that I took some pleasure there, he then told me with a joy that he could not have dissembled if he would, that he had received a counter-order. My answer was that it came very pat, because the air, which was too sharp upon the terrace, had brought a pain into my head. Four days after he proposed to me to go down and see my guards play at tennis. I desired to be excused because the air would be too piercing, but he forced me to go, saying that the king, who took a greater care of my health than I imagined, had commanded him to make me use some exercise. Ceasing afterwards to take me thither, he told me for his excuse that he had some reasons for it which he could not discover to me. I had indeed put myself above these little chicanes, which I despised at the bottom and was not moved with. But I confess that I had not the same strength of mind, in respect to the substance of the thing, which was my imprisonment; and when I came every morning when I was awake, to consider that I was in the power of my enemies, I found nothing in me that relished of the Stoick. I kept this trouble hid from every soul, and that was the reason that it became extreme. The hiding of it was an effect of that pride which is natural to man, and I remember that I was twenty times a day thinking to myself that an imprisonment for state matters was the very worst sort of imprisonment.

You have already seen that I made use of study to divert my trouble. I sometimes made use likewise of other means. I had some rabbits upon the terrace; I kept turtles in one of the turrets, and pigeons in the other. The continual instances of the church of Paris procured me from time to time these innocent diversions, which though mixed with a thousand chicanes, amused me however, and the more agreeably, because

I had often thought upon them, when it came into my mind to consider what I should pass my time in, if ever I came to be arrested. These diversions however did not amuse me so much as to hinder me from thinking earnestly upon the means of escaping out of prison, and the correspondence which I had all along with my friends gave me room to think of it, and to hope for some success.

The ninth day of my imprisonment, one of my two guards named Carpentier, approached near me whilst his comrade was asleep (for I was watched both night and day at least by one of the two) and he slipt a note into my hand, which at first sight I knew to come from Madam de Pommereux. The note contained only these words: "Trust the bearer, and write a line by him." He then gave me a pencil, and a bit of paper, on which I only wrote that I had received the note. Madam de Pommereux had found means to become acquainted with the wife of this Carpentier, and had given her 500 crowns for this first service. The husband was used to that sort of trade, and had not been unserviceable to M. de Beaufort in procuring his liberty. He is dead himself, and so are likewise his wife and family, which gives me room to be the more free. But considering that some unforeseen accident may bring to light whatever is set down in writing, you must give me leave to enter into no particulars that relate to the other manner of corresponding with my friends, which I had besides this, and in which some of the persons concerned are still living. It is enough that I tell you, that notwithstanding the changing of three officers, and of 24 lifeguardsmen, who succeeded one another during the 15 months I staid at Vincennes, my correspondence was never interrupted.

I received twice a week regularly letters from Madam de Pommereux, and from Messieurs de Caumartin and d'Hacqueville, which tended all towards seeking out means to set me at liberty. The shortest way was to escape out of my prison. I made two attempts towards it, one of which was suggested to me by my physician, who understood mathematicks. He took it into his head to file off the bar of the grate of a little window that was in the chapel where I heard mass, and to tie to the window a sort of machine, with which I might, it is true, have got down easily enough from the third story wherein I was lodged, into the ditch. But considering that I must from thence climb up the wall, from whence there was no way afterwards of getting down, he quitted that thought, which indeed was

impracticable, and we stuck to another which in all likelihood would have done, if it had not pleased providence to prevent the execution of it. I had observed at the time that I was taken upon the terrace, that there was at the very top of it a cavity, the use of which I could never guess. It was about half filled up, but there was room enough left to get down into it, and to hide oneself in it. This brought a thought into my head, that upon the day that Carpentier was to guard me, and whilst all the rest of the guards, except his comrade, were at dinner, it would be an easy matter to make that comrade drunk. The man, whose name was Tourville, was old, and a few glasses of wine were enough to make him dead drunk, as Carpentier had experienced it more than once. I proposed to make use of that moment to go upon the terrace, and to hide myself in the cavity which I have mentioned, with a provision of some loaves, and of some bottles both of wine and water. Carpentier owned that this first step was not only possible, but even easy, and what made it the more so, was that the two guards, who were to relieve his comrade and him, had always had the civility not to come into my chamber, but stay at the door till they thought I was awake; for I used myself to sleep in the afternoon, or at least to make my guards think so. Carpentier was to have tied two cords to the window of the gallery, through which M. de Beaufort had escaped, and to have thrown into the ditch a woven device, which M. Vacherot had been working upon all night long in his chamber, by means of which it might have been thought that I had got up the wall, which had been made since M. de Beaufort's escape. This trusty guard was at the same time to have given an alarm as if he had seen me pass into the gallery, and to have shewn his sword stained with blood, as if he had wounded me in pursuing me. This alarm would have gathered together the whole guard, who had found the cords tied to the window. They would have perceived in the ditch the device I mentioned, stained likewise with blood. Eight or ten men on horseback were to have appeared in the wood that surrounds Vincennes, with pistols in their hands, ready to receive me. A man with a red cap on his head was to have been seen as running out of Vincennes, and after having joined those that were waiting for him, he was to march with part of them towards Mézières, whilst the others would have marched another way. The guns were to have been fired at Mézières three or four days after, as if I was actually arrived there. Who would ever have thought that I had been in the hole I have mentioned?

They would in all likelihood have removed the guards from the castle of Vincennes, and would have left there only the soldiers that were usually in it, who had given leave to the inhabitants of Paris to come in for twopence a-piece to see the window and the cord I had escaped by, as they did those of M. de Beaufort.

My friends had come thither out of curiosity as well as the rest, they had disguised me in a woman's or a monk's habit, or what else you please, and I had got away without the least suspicion. I do not think that anything could have rendered the court more ridiculous than my escaping in this manner. It was so extraordinary, that it may appear impossible, notwithstanding which it was certainly easy, and I am fully persuaded that the success would have been infallible, if one of the guards, whose name was l'Escarmouche, had not spoiled it by meer accident. He was sent to Vincennes in the room of another who fell sick, and being an old hard-hearted and observing man, he told the officer that he did not conceive why he did not cause a door to be made at the foot of the little staircase that went up to the terrace: the door was set up there the next morning, and so my project came to nothing. That same l'Escarmouche told me in a very friendly manner that same evening, that if his majesty was pleased to order it, he would strangle me.

I did not apply myself so entirely to the finding out the means of escaping from Vincennes, as to neglect those which might oblige my enemies to set me at liberty. The Abbot Charrier, who went for Rome the very next day after my being arrested, found Pope Innocent incensed at it even to rage, and ready to thunder out excommunications upon the authors of a deed, for which he had the examples of what his predecessors had done in some like cases. He explained himself upon it with an extreme resentment to the ambassador of France. He sent M. Marini, Archbishop of Avignon, as nuncio in extraordinary, to demand my liberty. The king on his side resolved upon maintaining his royal authority. He sent to forbid Monsignor Marini to come further than Lyons. The pope grew afraid of exposing both his own power and that of the church to the rage of a madman, meaning Mazarin, for he used that expression speaking to the Abbot Charrier; to whom he said further: "Furnish me with an army, and I will send a legate at the head of it." It would have been no easy matter to have furnished him with an army, but the thing would not have been impossible, if those that were obliged to stand my friends on this occasion had not failed me.

You have seen in an earlier part of these memoirs that I might have reckoned upon the town of Mézières, because Bussy-Lamet, who was governor of it, was my particular friend; and that I had likewise a right to reckon upon Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe, because M. de Noirmoutier had been made governor of these two places, by my means only. You have likewise seen that this last had failed me at the time that Cardinal Mazarin came back into France. He thought it sufficient for his justification to tell everybody that he would serve me to all intents and purposes in what concerned my person; and there being hardly anything that touches the person of a man nearer than imprisonment, Noirmoutier joined himself publickly to Bussy-Lamet, as soon as I was arrested, and they wrote a letter jointly to the cardinal, whereby they declared that they should be forced to carry matters to all manner of extremities, if I was detained longer in prison.

The places of which these two gentlemen were governors, are not to be attacked when they are of the same party, and are consequently of an extreme importance; but what made them be at this time still of a greater, was that the prince, who at the first news he had of my detention, declared that he would do without exception all that my friends should desire of him towards procuring my liberty, had offered the two governors to send the whole forces of Spain to their assistance. Belle-Isle besides, of which M. de Retz was master, was no contemptible place, because of its nearness to England, on which France could not depend at that time; and Bordeaux, as well as Brouage, were still at that time holding out for the prince. This and many other circumstances of that nature, as for example the disposition of the Count d'Autel, who was in Béthune, and who would have certainly stirred in my favour, if he had seen any enterprize well formed; this, I say, made many people believe that there was wherewithal to have formed such an enterprize, that is, that there was a sufficient quantity of stuff, but by ill luck there was nobody capable of making a right use of it. The intentions of the Duke de Retz my brother were good, but he was unfit for any great design, and he was besides kept back by his wife, and by his father-in-law. The Duke de Brissac, who had been ordered to retire, was not a man at all fit to head an affair. The Duke de Noirmoutier was the most venturesome, but he was brought over at first to the court party by Madam de Chevreuse, and by Laigue, to whom the cardinal said in express terms, that they should be answerable to him for the actions of their

friends, and that if they caused a single gun to be fired, they should see how it should fare with them both. M. de Noirmoutier, whose friendship for me, as you have already seen, was not over violent, yielded to the instances of his friends, and of his lady, who is not one of the best of her sex, and he promised the court that he would give me only appearances, but would in reality do nothing for me.

That gentleman was as good as his word; he did not any ways thwart the siege of Stenay, which the king made at that time. He eluded all the proposals of the prince, and he contented himself with continuing to speak and write in my behalf, and having many guns fired when my health was drank. He could hardly however have acted that part long, if Bussy-Lamet, who was a man of sense and resolution, had lived. This last spoke to Malclerc, whom my friends had sent to him, in this very manner: "Noirmoutier designs to mislead me, but I shall bring him to declare himself, or I shall become master of his place." The poor gentleman died of an apoplexy that very night. The Chevalier de Lamet, who was a major in the place, having become the master of it by the other's death, the viscount his eldest brother threw himself into it, and remained very faithfully attached to my interest. The Abbot de Lamet their cousin and mine, and who was master of my chamber,[1] staid all the while at Mézières, and served me there with all the zeal imaginable; but one place being able to do no good without the help of the other, nothing was done, and Mézières, Charleville, and the Mont-Olimpe, were for me without being useful to me. It cost me however a large sum of money, which M. de Retz my brother lent for subsisting the garrison, and which I have repaid since with interest.

You may judge that all these particulars, which I was punctually informed of, did not give me a little trouble, but the greatest was my hiding the knowledge I had of them; and I remember that M. de Pradelle, who commanded the French and Swiss guards that were in the castle, and who had the liberty to see me, as well as M. de Maupeou de Noisy, who was a captain in the guards; I remember, I say, that M. de Pradelle told me one day that he was grieved at heart at a piece of news which he thought himself obliged to mention to me, and that was the death of M. de Bussy-Lamet. I appeared surprized at it, though I knew it as well as he. This M. de Pradelle was so kind as to comfort me in this same conversation, against the fear I might have that they

[1] An officer who introduces persons into a cardinal's presence, and who has the direction of his chamber.

would undertake something at Mézières against his majesty's service, and he assured me that that place was in the hands of the officer whom the king had sent to command there. Observe, I beseech you, that I had received the day before a billet from the Viscount Lamet, who assured me that he was master of it, and that I might rely upon him. I received however for truth whatever Pradelle was pleased to tell me upon that account, as well as most of his other discourses, which were such as are commonly used towards prisoners of state. I say that I received most of his other discourses for truth, because there were some which I could not appear to take in that manner. That gentleman, whose talk was commonly about the weather, or about matters past before my imprisonment, took it once into his head to acquaint me with the happy return of Cardinal Mazarin to Paris. He imbellished his relation with all the ornaments which he thought might displease me, and he magnified extremely the fine reception that was made him at the Hôtel de Ville. I had already been informed of it, and that M. Vedeau had harangued him with all the meanness possible. I answered Pradelle, that I was not surprized at it: "Nor will you be sorry, sir," replied he, "when you know how much regard the cardinal has for you: he has commanded me to wait on you, and to assure you of his most humble services; and he begs that you would believe that he will leave nothing undone to serve you." I seemed as if my head had been full of other things which prevented my taking notice of this compliment, and I asked him I do not know what question, upon a subject that was altogether foreign to the cardinal. He began to mention the thing afresh, and as he was pressing me to give him an answer, I told him that I would not have failed to have shewn my gratitude when he spoke first, if I had not been persuaded that the respect which a prisoner owes the king takes away from him the leave of explaining himself in any manner upon anything that relates to his liberty, till it has pleased the king to restore it him. He understood what I meant; he tried to persuade me to send the cardinal a more obliging answer; but he lost his labour.

The advices which Cardinal Mazarin received from Rome, and the heat people appeared in, and which even encreased in Poitou and at Paris, in respect to my imprisonment, obliged him to give at least some outward demonstrations of his intending me my liberty, and he made use to that purpose of the credulity of Monsignor Bagni, the pope's nuncio in France, a man of probity, and of a distinguished birth; but an easy man, and

altogether fit to be deceived. The cardinal sent him to me accompanied by Messieurs de Brienne and le Tellier, with proposals for granting me my liberty and great advantages, in case I would resign the coadjutorship of Paris. My friends having sent me notice that this step would be taken, I heard the proposal, and answered it in a set speech, very much becoming an ecclesiastick, and which even shamed Monsignor Bagni, and brought upon him afterwards a very sharp reprimand from Rome. This speech, which had been sent me by M. de Caumartin, and which was very fine and very much to the purpose, was printed at Paris the next day. The court was extremely vexed at it. I had another officer and other guards, but this change brought no interruption to my dealings with my friends.

The instances which the chapter of Nôtre-Dame made, obliged the court to give leave to a canon of that body to be with me, and the chapter chose one who was of the family of M. de Bragelonne, who had been bred with me at the college, and to whom I had even given my prebend. The prison became too tiresome for him, though he had shut himself up in it with joy, for my sake. He fell into a deep melancholy, of which I took notice, and did what lay in my power to persuade him to leave me, but he would never hearken to it. He was seized with a fever, in the fourth fit of which he cut his own throat with a razor. They had the civility in the castle, during the whole time I staid there, to hide from me the manner in which he died; but the tragical end of that poor gentleman was enlarged upon by my friends, which did not diminish the compassion which the people had for me, nor did that compassion diminish the fears of the cardinal. These fears brought into his head the thought of transferring me either to Amiens, or to Brest, or to Havre-de-Grâce. I was informed of it, and I counterfeited an illness. Vesou was sent to see whether I was really sick. I was differently informed about the report he made. What prevented my being removed was the death of the Archbishop of Paris my uncle, which stirred up the minds of the people to such a degree, that the court thought it fitter to appease them than to encrease their discontent. The manner in which I was served in this affair, has something in it very wonderful.

My uncle died at four in the morning, and at five the possession of the archbishoprick was seized in my name, by virtue of a letter of attorney from me, which appeared to be in very good form; and M. le Tellier, who arrived at Nôtre-Dame to oppose it in the king's name, had the satisfaction to hear my bulls

fulminated in the cathedral. Whatever is surprizing stirs up the people. This scene was surprizing to the last degree, nothing being more extraordinary than the conjunction of the necessary formalities to an action of that nature, at a time when nobody thought it possible to have observed any one of them. The curates grew still warmer than usual; my friends fanned the flame; the people wanted their archbishop; the nuntio, who thought he had been doubly abused by the court, spoke very high, and threatened them there with ecclesiastical censures. A pamphlet was published, which proved, that all the churches must be shut up. The cardinal was seized with fear, and his fears inclining him always to negotiate, a negotiation was begun. He was not ignorant of the advantage those have who negotiate with others that are not well informed how matters go. He thought half the time that I was of that number, and he believed it in this conjuncture. He got a hundred proposals to be made to me of permutations, of rich abbeys, of governments, of being restored to the king's favour, and of a solid union with the minister. Pradelle and my officer spoke of nothing else from morning till night. I had a greater liberty allowed me than ordinary. They would no longer suffer me to stay in my chamber, if the weather could in the least permit that I might walk upon the terrace. I feigned as if I reflected not in the least upon all this change, being informed by my friends of what was acting underhand. They sent me word to keep myself close, and not to open myself in any manner to anybody, because they knew for certain, by the informations they had, that there was nothing solid at the bottom of the negotiation, and that the court intended only to make me explain myself in a manner which they might take hold of there; as if the resigning my archbishoprick was not a thing impossible, that the zeal of the clergy, and of the people for me, might thereby grow cooler. I followed exactly my friends' instructions,[1] insomuch that M. de Noailles, captain of the guards in waiting, coming to me by the king's order, and making me a speech far different from his manners and from his inclination, which had nothing in it but sweet and civil, (for Mazarin obliged him to speak to me much more like a Turkish janizary, than like an officer of a Christian king) I desired his leave to give him my answer in writing. I cannot

[1] Joly, in the account he gives of this whole transaction, differs very much from the Cardinal de Retz, whom, according to his usual custom, he represents as a weak man, which is not at all the character given him by other writers.

remember the words, but I know that it expressed a sovereign contempt for the cardinal's threats, as well as for his promises, and an unalterable resolution not to resign the archbishoprick of Paris.

I received a letter from my friends the very next day, which informed me that they had got my answer to M. de Noailles immediately printed, and what admirable effect it had produced. They likewise sent me word, that the President de Bellièvre was ordered to come and make a second attempt upon me the next day. He came, and offered me in the king's name, the abbeys of St. Lucien de Beauvais, of St. Médard de Soissons, of St. Germain d'Auxerre, of Barbeau, of St. Martin de Pontoise, of St. Aubin d'Angers, and of Orcan: "provided" (added he) "that you renounce the archbishoprick of Paris, and provided that . . ." he stopped at that word, and looking upon me, he said: "I have hitherto spoke in a manner answerable to my commission, but it is time for me to begin to laugh at the Sicilian, who is weak enough to imploy me in a work of this nature: And provided" (continued he) "that you give twelve of your friends for sureties that you will ratify your renunciation the moment you are set at liberty. . . . This is not all" (added he). "I am to be one of the twelve, as are likewise Messieurs de Retz, de Brissac, de Montrésor, de Caumartin, d'Hacqueville, etc. Hear me speak" (said he) "and do not answer me, I beg of you, till I have said all I have to say. Most of your friends are persuaded, that your only business is to hold out, and that the court will grant you your liberty, and be satisfied with getting rid of you, and sending you to Rome. That is a mistake. The court is for having your renunciation anyway. When I say the court, I mean Mazarin, for the queen is grieved at heart to hear your liberty so much as mentioned. Le Tellier says, that the cardinal must be out of his wits. The Abbot Fouquet is enraged; and Servien consents to it, only because the others are against it. We must therefore lay down as incontestably true, that Mazarin is the only man that is for your liberty, and that he is for it, only because he thinks himself sufficiently revenged on you, by making you lose the archbishoprick of Paris. This is, at least, the pretence he makes use of, for at the bottom it is not what determines him. It is only the fear he is possessed with at this instant, in respect to the nuntio, to the chapter, to the curates, to the people: I say, at this instant of the death of the archbishop, of which the consequence can at most be an insurrection, which not being supported, must fall to nothing. But I

say more, for I maintain that it will produce no such consequence. The nuntio will threaten, and do nothing more; the chapter will make remonstrances that will be of no use; the curates will bewail you in their pulpits, and that will be all; the people will make a noise, but will not take up arms. I am near at hand to see all these things, the event of which will be your being transferred either to Havre-de-Grâce, or to Brest, there to remain in the hands, and at the disposal of your enemies, who will afterwards do what they please with you. I know that Mazarin is not a man that loves blood, and yet I tremble when I consider what M. de Noailles has said to you, that they were resolved to dispatch matters, and to follow the steps which have so often been taken in other countries. Their resolving at court to speak in this manner, is what makes me tremble. Great souls do it sometimes to serve their ends, but without any intent to execute what they say. Mean souls had rather do the thing than speak the words.

"From what I have said you will conclude, that I am for your resigning your post. Far from it. I am come hither to tell you that you will bring a disgrace upon yourself if you do it, and that you are obliged in this conjuncture, to answer at the expence of your life, and of your liberty which I know to be dearer to you than life, the great expectation people are in upon your account. The time is come when you ought more than ever to practise the maxims which we have so often bantered you upon: *I stand in fear neither of sword nor poison: nothing but what is within me can move me: death is to be met with everywhere.* These have been your frequent sayings, and they are now to be used in the answer you are to give those who shall speak to you about your renunciation. You have hitherto discharged your duty in a worthy manner, and nobody can reasonably find fault with your behaviour. I should therefore be to blame if I should undertake to persuade you to change your measures. It is not what I require of you. The thing I would ask of you is, that you would tell me plainly whether you would accept of your liberty if it was offered you for a trifle?" Seeing me smile at that word: "Stay" (said he) "and I will convince you that the thing is not impossible. Do you reckon a resignation of the archbishoprick of Paris, dated in the castle of Vincennes, where you are detained prisoner, as a valid act?" "No," (answered I) "and therefore my enemies are not satisfied with that, but will have sureties for having it ratified afterwards." "But if I can find any room" (replied the President de Bellièvre) "to make the court desist

from their requiring sureties, what will you then think?" "I will resign the archbishoprick to-morrow" (answered I). He then explained to me all that he had done; he told me, that he would never undertake to come to me with any proposals, till he had clearly perceived that the real intent of the cardinal was to set me at liberty, and till he had found him likewise disposed to desist from requiring any sureties. He added, that besides this proposal of having such sureties as were now demanded, there were no manner of ways that he had not thought upon to make my act of resignment a valid act. That his first thought had been to get a writing signed by the chapter, the curates, and the Sorbonne, whereby they should engage to disown me for their archbishop, in case I should refuse to ratify my deed of resignment, after my being set at liberty. That the second had been, to have me brought to the Louvre, to assemble there all the ecclesiastical bodies of the city, and to make me ingage my word to the king in all their presence, that I would stand to my deed. "In short" (said the president) "there are no ways whatsoever but what have come into his head to satisfy his distrust. You may perceive it by what I have said, though I have not said half of what I have seen. Knowing him as I do, I have not thought fit to contradict him in anything. But he has of himself rejected these ridiculous fancies, except that of the twelve sureties, which is indeed more practicable than the others. It will, however, get out of his head likewise, provided you remain firm in rejecting it. I shall be forced to insist upon it with obstinacy, and you must refuse it with courage, as thinking it shameful for you. By this means we shall bring the Sicilian to accept an expedient which he will be well pleased with, because he will think it very proper to deceive you. This expedient will be to trust you in the hands either of M. d'Hocquincourt or of M. de la Meilleraie, till the pope has accepted your resignation. The cardinal will think that resignation good, if it is once accepted by the pope, and he is so ignorant in our laws, that he was saying so to me no longer ago than yesterday."

I interrupted the first president, to tell him that this expedient was good for nothing, because the pope would refuse to accept it. "No matter," (replied he) "that is the worst that can happen, and there is even a remedy to that. When that expedient is proposed, in accepting it you must stipulate, that happen what will, you shall not be put again into the king's power, but upon my direction; and I shall take care to get a writing in good form, from the gentleman in whose hands you

are intrusted, not to deliver you up but upon my order. You ought to trust me: follow my directions, and my heart tells me that God will perfect the work."

We discussed the matter to the very bottom; we examined thoroughly which of the two we should chuse, M. d'Hocquincourt, or M. de la Meilleraie. We agreed upon everything, and the first president left the castle, telling M. de Pradelle with tears in his eyes: "I find in him an invincible obstinacy: I am sorry at heart. Not that he cares now for the archbishoprick; that would not be an obstacle. But he thinks his honour wounded by the proposals that are made to him of sureties and guarantees. He will never yield, and I will meddle no longer in it: there is nothing to be done."

Pradelle, who was much more devoted to the Abbot Fouquet than to the cardinal, and who knew that the abbot was in no manner for my being set at liberty, acquainted him immediately with this piece of news, upon which he was ordered by the abbot to mention to me indirectly and without affectation, in the conversation we should have together, the archbishoprick of Rheims, and other immense recompences, with an intent that when proposals of a lesser sort should be offered me, I should appear more stiff, in hopes that my stiffness would offend Mazarin the more. I perceived easily enough what they drove at, by comparing together what I knew to be true, because I had it from M. de Bellièvre and my other friends, and what I heard from Pradelle, and from d'Avanton, who was my officer. This last spoke to me ingenuously, being altogether a dependant on M. de Noailles his captain, who went himself roundly to work, and had nothing in view but the service of the king. But Pradelle's design being to hinder me from accepting the offers that were to be made me, by putting me in hopes of obtaining something better, continued to dazzle my eyes with bright prospects; but I resolved to oppose artifice to artifice. I told d'Avanton, that I could in no manner conceive what the meaning of the court was: that though I was a prisoner, I did not find my prison so very burdensome, as to wish to get free from it at any rate whatsoever: that it was best to go roundly to work with everybody, and with prisoners as well as with others: that I had proposals made to me at the same time, opposite to one another: that the first president offered me seven abbies, whilst M. de Pradelle was mentioning to me archbishopricks. D'Avanton, who desired nothing more than to see this negotiation come to a good end, failed not to give his captain an account

of my complaints. Cardinal Mazarin, who was kept in a mortal fright by the curates and the confessors of Paris, and who for that reason was impatient to the last degree to finish the thing, was extremely angry at Pradelle's conduct, and he used him very rudely upon it, suspecting, as it was true, that what he did was by the Abbot Fouquet's orders. The vexation this gave him, to find his own dependants opposing his will, contributed much, as M. de Bellièvre told me the next day, to make him consent to make an end of the matter by accepting my act of resignation, dated in the castle of Vincennes, for which I was to have the seven abbeys which I have mentioned. He likewise consented that I should be put into the hands of M. de la Meilleraie, to be kept in the castle of Nantes, of which he was governor, and to be set at liberty as soon as his holiness had accepted my resignation: but that, whether the pope accepted of it or no, I should not be put again into the king's hands, till the President de Bellièvre should send a writing under his hand for his consenting to it; and that for greater surety of this last clause, the king should impower the Marshal de la Meilleraie to give a promise under his hand to M. de Bellièvre, not to deliver me up till he had the president's order. All this was performed, and the Monday following they came both of them to Vincennes, and accompanied me in one of the king's coaches as far as the Port-à-l'Anglois.

The marshal being very lame of the gout, could not come up to my chamber, which gave an opportunity to M. de Bellièvre to warn me, as we were coming down stairs, against entring into an engagement which would be required of me, and which was, that I should not try to escape from the confinement which I was to be kept under at Nantes. The marshal proposed it to me, and my answer was, that prisoners of war might give such promises, but that I never heard that they were required from prisoners of state. The marshal grew angry at it, and he told me plainly, that he would take me under his care only upon that condition. M. de Bellièvre, who had found only the opportunity of whispering me a word about this, because of the presence of my officer, of Pradelle, and of my guards, began now to speak. "You do not understand one another" (said he); "the cardinal does not refuse to give you his word of honour, if you will confide in it intirely, and give him no guards. But if you keep him under guard, sir, what will such a promise signify? Does not the keeping him under restraint free him from it?" The president played a sure game, being well assured that the queen had made the

marshal promise that I should always have some guards to watch me. The marshal looked upon M. de Bellièvre, and said: "You know that I cannot act in the manner you propose; come, sir," said he, turning to me, "there is no avoiding the giving you guards, but I shall guard you in a manner that shall give you no manner of room to complain." We left Vincennes, and we marched away, accompanied by the gens d'armes, the light horse, and the mousquetaires of the king's household. Cardinal Mazarin's guards, who in my opinion ought not to have appeared there, were likewise of the company, and made even a mighty figure.

We parted with the first president at the Port-à-l'Anglois, and we continued our march as far as Baugency, where we imbarked, after my guards had been relieved by new ones. The horse returned to Paris; and Pradelle, who had Morel for his ensign, who belongs now, I think, to the Dutchess of Orleans, came in the same boat with me; and in another boat that followed ours, there was a company of the regiment of guards. The next day after my arrival at Nantes, all my guards left me, and I was left intirely to the keeping of the Marshal de la Meilleraie, who was as good as his word, for nothing could exceed his civil usage. Everybody had the liberty of seeing me, all means possible were sought to divert me, and I had a play acted before me almost every evening. All the ladies of the town were present at it, and often supped in the castle. Madam de la Vergne, who was married a second time to the Chevalier de Sévigné, and lived in Anjou with him, came to see me, and brought her daughter with her, who is now Madam de la Fayette. She was very agreeable and very lovely, and she had besides much of the air of Madam de Lesdiguières. I had a great liking to her, but the truth is she had but little to me, either because her inclination did not lead her that way, or because of the distrust that both her mother and father-in-law had filled her with betimes, in respect to me and to the inconstancy of my amours. Her cruelty caused me no great trouble, it being natural for me in such cases to be pretty easily comforted, and the freedom which M. de la Meilleraie suffered me to live in, with the ladies of the town, was besides a great help to comfort me. It is true, that the exactness with which he guarded me, was equal to the civility he used towards me. I was never left without somebody that watched me narrowly, except when I was retired into my chamber, and then there were always six men that guarded the door. There was in the chamber only a very high

window, that looked down into a yard, in which there was always a numerous guard; and one of the six men that guarded the door, and who always accompanied me when I went to walk in a little garden, which is upon a kind of bastion or ravelin, built just by the riverside, posted himself upon the terrace of a tower, from whence he watched all my steps.

The Duke de Brissac, whom I met at the Marshal de la Meilleraie's when I arrived there, and Messieurs de Caumartin, d'Hacqueville, the Abbots de Pontcarré and Amelot, who came thither soon after, were more surprized at the strictness of my guard, than pleased at the civilities shewn me, though never so great. I own that I was myself very much troubled at it, chiefly when I heard by an express sent me by the Abbot Charrier, that the pope would not give his approbation to what I had done, which approbation had not made my act of resignation one jot more valid, and yet would have procured me my liberty. I dispatched immediately to Rome, Malclerc, who has the honour to be known to you, with a letter for the pope, wherein I gave his holiness an account of what my true interest required. I gave to Malclerc besides a large instruction of all the expedients whereby the dignity of the holy see might be reconciled with the accepting of my resignation. But nothing could persuade his holiness, and he remained inflexible. He thought that his reputation would lie too much at stake, if he should consent for a single instant to a violence so injurious to the whole church; and the pope spoke in this manner to the Abbot Charrier and to Malclerc, who were pressing him with tears in their eyes: "I know that my approbation would not validate a resignation which has been extorted by violence, but I likewise know that it would dishonour me, when people should say that I have given my consent to a resignation dated in a prison."

You will easily believe that this disposition of the pope's brought many serious reflections into my head, which worked afterwards the more upon me by the disposition of the Marshal de la Meilleraie, who was of all men the most cringing to the court. His being brought up at the court of Cardinal Richlieu had made so strong impressions upon his mind, that though he had a great deal of aversion for Cardinal Mazarin, he trembled at the hearing of his name mentioned. His fear redoubled at the first news that came from Rome. He appeared to me moved at it even beyond what decency allowed him. After the cardinal had sent him word that he knew for certain that the difficulty which the pope made came from me, he could not contain him-

self any longer, but he reproached me with it, and instead of giving an ear to my reasons which were grounded meerly upon truth, he affected to believe that I disguised my true intention from him.

I made then no doubt but that he would seek out for pretences to surrender me to the court, when it should be convenient for him to do it. This conduct is common to all those who act with more cunning than prudence, but it does not succeed with those whose impetuosity is greater than their probity. I made the marshal discover his intentions by putting him insensibly into a heat, and he betrayed himself very imprudently in the presence of all those that were with us in the court belonging to the castle. He read me a letter which informed him that they had received advice at court of my promising the Duke of Orleans, who was at Blois, to bring the Marshal de la Meilleraie over to his interest, and that I did not even despair that he would give him a refuge in Fort Louis. I told the marshal that he must expect to be often troubled in this manner, and that the court, which had no other view by removing me than to appease the people at Paris, thought now upon nothing else than to get me out of his hands by their artifices there. At this he turned towards me like a man possessed, and he said to me in a loud voice and all in a heat: "In short, sir, I would have you to know that I shall never make war against the king upon your account. I will be true to my promise, but the first president must likewise do what he has promised the king."

This put me seriously upon finding out the means to make my escape. I was pressed about it by the first president, upon whom the court had already made a kind of trial, and Montrésor got a lady of Nantes to put a little note into my hands, in which I found these words written: "You are to be removed to Brest at the end of this month, if you do not prevent it by making your escape." The thing was very difficult, and the first step towards it was to deceive the marshal. Joly shewed him the deciphering of letters which appeared very genuine, and I observed on this occasion that persons the most distrustful are often the most easily deceived. I discovered my design to M. de Brissac, who came to Nantes from time to time, and who promised to serve me. He went always with a very great equipage, and had many mules to carry his trunks. This brought a thought into my head, that it would not be impossible for me to be conveyed away in one of these trunks. There was one made for that purpose, a little bigger than ordinary and with a hole to let in

some air. I tried it, and I found that way of escaping natural and practicable. M. de Brissac went for two or three days to Machecoul, from whence he returned altogether altered. He discovered the thing to the Dutchess of Retz my sister-in-law, and to her father, who dissuaded him from it; the first because she hated me, and the second because of his ill-nature. M. de Brissac said for his excuse that he was sure that I should be stifled in the trunk; but the truth is that he was touched with a scruple which they had put into his head, that by doing a thing of this nature he would violate in too open a manner the laws of hospitality. I represented to him as much as I could, that in suffering me to be transferred to Brest, he would violate in no less a manner the laws of friendship. He owned it, and he promised to help me to escape any other way than this. I entered into measures with him upon a project which I had thought of, as soon as the first had failed.

I have already told you that I went and walked sometimes upon a kind of ravelin by the riverside, and I had observed that (being in the month of August) the river did not come up to the wall, but left a little space of dry ground between it and the bastion. I had likewise observed that between the garden which was upon that bastion, and the terrace on which my guards staid whilst I was walking, there was a door which Chaluçet had caused to be set up to prevent the soldiers coming into the garden. Upon these observations I formed my design, which was to draw unaffectedly that door upon me as I came into the garden, which being made with cross-bars, was no obstacle to the guards from looking on me, but would serve however to prevent their coming to me. I designed afterwards to get down the wall by means of a cord, which my physician and the Abbot Rousseau, brother to the steward of my family, were to hold fast at the top: to have horses ready by the riverside, both for myself and for four gentlemen whom I designed to take along with me. This project was extremely difficult to execute. It was of an extraordinary kind, and all that are such are never thought possible by those that are capable of forming only ordinary ones, but when they see them executed. I have made that observation above a hundred times; and if I am not mistaken, Longinus, that famous chancellor to Queen Zenobia, has observed it before me in his treatise upon the sublime. In short there would have been nothing more remarkable in our age than the success of an escape like mine, if in breaking my fetters it had ended in rendering myself master of the capital city of the kingdom.

M. de Caumartin [1] brought that thought into my head, and I embraced it very eagerly. The first President de Bellièvre approved of it, and as soon as the chancellor and Servien, who were at Paris, heard that I was marching that way, they had no other thought than of quitting the place and of running out of it. It was the first word that Servien, who was not a timorous man, said when he received an account of it from the Marshal de la Meilleraie. Add to that the *Te Deum* that was sung for my liberty in the church of Nôtre-Dame, and the bonfires that were made in many places of the city, though they did not see me there, and judge of the effect which I had room to hope that my presence would have produced there.

I take this to be a sufficient answer to those who have blamed my enterprize. I desire that these gentlemen would examine seriously and consider within themselves, whether they would have thought that the declaration which I made in full *Parlement* against Cardinal Mazarin, the next day after the battle of Rethel, would have succeeded as it did, if it had been proposed to them a quarter of an hour before they saw the success of it. I am persuaded that almost all the great things that have been undertaken are of this nature. I am persuaded besides that it is often necessary to venture upon such undertakings; and I continue to be still persuaded that it was prudent in the occasion I am speaking of, because the worst that could have happened was my embarking in an action of great moment, which I had pushed on if I had found room, and to which I had given an air of moderation and of discretion, if I had found matters not so well prepared as I imagined. For my project was to enter into Paris with the appearance only of peaceable intentions; to declare both at the *Parlement* and the Hôtel de Ville, that I came with the design only of taking possession of my archbishoprick; to take in effect that possession in my cathedral; to examine what effect such a spectacle would have produced upon the minds of a people already inflamed by the state in which things were, Arras being besieged at that time by the Prince of Condé. My presence at Paris would probably have prevented the king from attacking the lines, as he did. The partisans of the prince, who were numerous in the city, would certainly have joined with my friends. The flight of the chancellor and of Servien had discouraged the Mazarinians; the collusion of the first President de Bellièvre had been a signal advantage to me. M. Nicolai, first president of the chamber of accounts, has

[1] Joly says that it was he that first proposed it to the Cardinal de Retz.

declared since that the court having observed against me not any one of the forms of law required, that chamber would not have hesitated one single moment to do in favour of my possession whatever lay in their power. I should have known by these first steps how far I ought or might have carried the second.

If I had met, as I have observed, with more obstacles in my way than I had fancied, it would have been easy for me to have taken a step backwards, to have acted only the ecclesiastical part, and after having taken possession of the archbishoprick, to have retired into Mézières, where two hundred horse would easily have convoyed me, all the king's troops being far off. The Viscount de Lamet was in that place, and Noirmoutier himself, though reconciled secretly to the court as you have seen, had been obliged to preserve a greater regard for me, to prevent his losing entirely his reputation with the publick, and even in respect to his private interest, Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe being insignificant without Mézières. That gentleman was besides reconciled to me in some measure, since I was come away from Vincennes; for thinking that I should be quickly set at liberty, he had taken hold of these instants to make his peace with me, having sent to that effect Blanchecour, a captain of foot of the garrison of Mézières. Blanchecour brought me a letter signed by Noirmoutier and by the Viscount de Lamet jointly, who both expressed that they had been all along in my interest, and would continue in the same mind as long as they lived. The viscount wrote me word by a separate letter that the Duke de Noirmoutier affected a greater zeal for me than ever, in order to gild over his past actions with the shew he made now, which, as matters stood, could no longer, at least as he thought, be of any prejudice to him at court. My retiring into Mézières would it is true have produced no great matters, because of my mistrusting Noirmoutier, and because, as I have said, that place is insignificant without Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe. It would however have served as a place for me to retire into, which at that juncture of time was what I needed most.

The whole project was overthrown in an instant, though none of the foundations failed on which it was built. I made my escape upon Saturday, August 8, at five in the afternoon. The door of the garden which I have mentioned, seemed as if it had shut naturally of itself. I got down the bastion, which was forty foot high, by means of the cord. A *valet-de-chambre*, who belongs still to me, beguiled my guards with some bottles of

wine. They were besides amusing themselves in looking at a Dominican friar who was got into the river to bathe, and who was very near drowning. The sentinel who was not above twenty steps from me durst not fire, because when I saw him preparing to do it, I cried to him that I would have him hanged if he budged; and he said when he was put to the rack, that hearing me threaten him in that manner, he thought that the marshal favoured my escape. Two little pages, who were bathing, seeing me coming down the bastion wall, would have discovered my escape if they had been hearkened to, but everybody that heard their cry, fancied that they were calling for help to the monk that wanted it. I met at my coming down my four gentlemen, who waited there as if they had been watering their horses. I got on horseback before there was the least alarm given, and having forty fresh horses waiting for me upon the road between Nantes and Paris, I should infallibly have reached this last place on the Tuesday morning betimes, had it not been for an accident which has proved fatal to the remaining part of my life. I will give you an account of it, after I have taken notice to you of a remarkable circumstance.

I had a cipher with the Princess Palatine, which we used to call the undecipherable; because we had always found it impenetrable, except to those who knew the word agreed on. It was with that cipher that I wrote to the first president that I was to make my escape upon August 8, and he made use of the same to bid me do it whatever risk I should run. I gave with the same cipher the necessary orders about my relays. By the same means I agreed with Annery and Laillevaux on the place where the gentlemen out of the Vexin should meet to come into Paris with me. The Prince of Condé, who had with him one of the best decipherers in the world, whose name I think was Martin, kept that cipher six weeks at Brussels, and when he gave it me back, he told me that that man owned that it was impossible to decipher it. These are great proofs of the goodness of the cipher; and yet Joly, who made it not his business to decipher letters, found out the key, after having thought a while upon it. I beg that you would forgive me this digression, which you will find not to be unnecessary. I return to my narration.

As[1] soon as I was got on horseback I took my way towards

[1] In Joly's whole account of this matter he represents the Cardinal de Retz in the worst light imaginable, and as a man so much possessed with fear that he knew neither what he said or did.

Mauve, which, if I mistake not, is five leagues distant from Nantes, by the riverside, and where we had agreed that M. de Brissac and the Chevalier de Sévigné should stay for me, with a boat to cross the river. La Ralde, gentleman of the horse to the Duke de Brissac, who rode before me, told me that we ought to gallop at first, for fear the marshal's guards should have time to shut up the gate of a little street of the suburb where they were quartered, and through which we must necessarily pass. I was mounted upon one of the best horses in the world, and which had cost M. de Brissac a thousand crowns. I did not however give him the bridle, because the pavement was extremely bad and very slippery; but one of my gentlemen, whose name was Boisguérin, perceiving two of the marshal's guards, who had not however any design upon us, and bidding us cock our pistols, I did so, and I presented mine to the guard who was nearest to me, to prevent his seizing my horse's bridle. The sun that was yet pretty high, shining upon the plate, the reflection frightened my horse that was strong and lively. He started at it, and of a sudden fell upon his four feet. I escaped with the breaking of my left shoulder by the fall, and the putting of it besides out of joint, against a great stone that lay before a door. Another of my gentlemen named Beauchesne, took me up and got me upon my horse, and though I suffered an intolerable pain, and that I was now and then obliged to pull my hair to prevent my fainting away, I rode out the five leagues, before the Marshal de la Meilleraie, who (if Marigny's ballad is to be believed) was following me full speed, with all the runners of Nantes, could reach me. I found at the place of rendezvous, M. de Brissac and the Chevalier de Sévigné, with a boat ready. I fainted away at the getting into it, but I came to myself by their throwing water on my face. I tried to get upon my horse after we had passed the river, but I was too weak to sit on horseback, and M. de Brissac was forced to have me put into a haymow, where he left me with one of my gentlemen who held me in his arms. The Duke de Brissac took Joly with him, and they went directly to Beaupréau, with a design of gathering together the gentlemen of the country and of coming afterwards to fetch me away.

I think myself obliged to relate two or three actions of some persons that belonged to me, which deserve not to be forgotten. Paris, a doctor in the university of the college of Navarre, who had given the signal with his hat to the four gentlemen that assisted me in this conjuncture, was found by the waterside by

Coulon, gentleman of the horse to the marshal, who took hold of him and gave him some blows. The doctor preserving his wits, said to Coulon, with a simple air, and evasively, "I will tell the marshal that you spend your time in the abusing a poor priest, because you dare not attack the cardinal, who is armed with good pistols." Coulon took this for genuine, and asked him where I was. "Do not you see him," answered the doctor, "entering into that village?" You must observe that he had seen me cross the river, and this presence of mind, which you will own to have been pretty extraordinary, got him away out of Coulon's hands. I will mention now an act of courage no less extraordinary. The gentleman whom the doctor was shewing Coulon, as if it had been myself, was that Beauchesne whom I have mentioned. His horse was quite spent, which prevented his joining me. Coulon, who took him for me, ran to him, and perceiving many persons ready to join him, he came up towards Beauchesne with a pistol in his hand. Beauchesne, who was awaiting him in the like posture, looking about him, perceived a boat that was not above ten or twelve steps distance from him. He flung himself into it, and whilst he was stopping Coulon by presenting him one of his pistols, he was holding the other at the waterman and obliged him to pass the river. The stoutness he shewed on this occasion did not only preserve him, but favoured my escape, because the marshal having missed that boat, was forced to ride a long way before he could cross the water.

An action of another nature, but which contributed still more to my liberty, was this. I have already told you that as soon as the Abbot Charrier had sent me word that the pope refused to receive my resignation, I dispatched Malclerc to sollicit his holiness about it. The court sent Gaumont at the same time, who was carrying the original act of my resignation to the Cardinal d'Este, with an order for him to sollicit that affair, because there was at that time no ambassador from France at Rome. Gaumont at his arrival at Lyons with Malclerc, finding himself tired, resolved to go to Marseilles and imbark there for Italy. That being the longest way, and Malclerc, who went through the mountains, being like to be the soonest at Rome, Gaumont thought fit to intrust him with the packet he had for the Cardinal d'Este. His simplicity was great, as you may observe, and it is likely that he had never studied a maxim which I have always practised, and always preached to all those who belong to me; which is, never to mind in affairs of importance, either

fatigue, danger, or expence. Gaumont was punished for not following that maxim on this occasion. The original act of my resignation was not to be found in the packet, though none of the seal seemed to have been broken. When Gaumont complained of it, Malclerc, who was a braver man than he, complained on his side that what was alleged was a contrivance. This disappointment gave room to the pope to leave the Cardinal d'Este in doubt, whether their doing nothing at Rome about that affair proceeded from want of good will in his holiness, or from want of the original act of my resignation. Malclerc was ordered to intreat the pope in my name that in case he would not admit of that resignation, he would spin out the matter till I had found means to escape, and what Malclerc had done in relation to Gaumont, afforded as you see a pretence plausible enough. The Cardinal d'Este being misled himself, misled likewise Mazarin; whose instances to the Marshal de la Meilleraie about his delivering me back into the king's hands, grew thereby less frequent and less pressing, and I had the satisfaction to owe to the zeal and to the prudence of two persons who belonged to me (for the Abbot Charrier had his share in this intrigue) the full time I wanted to provide for my escape.

I return to the place where I was hid. I remained for above seven hours in such an anguish that I am not able to express it. I had my left shoulder both broken and put out of joint, and extremely bruised besides. I was seized with a fever about nine in the evening, and the thirst it occasioned was still cruelly increased by the heat of the new hay. Though I was by the riverside I durst not drink, because if Montet (that is the person's name that was with me) and I had come out of the hay-mow, we had nobody to put it again in order at our coming back into it, which might consequently have afforded room to those that ran after me, to have searched it. We were continually hearing people on horseback that were riding on the right and on the left, among whom we knew, by his voice, Coulon to be one. The uneasiness occasioned by thirst is incredible, and inconceivable to those who have never experienced it. M. de la Poise-St. Offanges, a man of quality of those parts, whom M. de Brissac had acquainted with my misfortune, came about two in the morning to fetch me away, after having observed that the coast was perfectly clear. He caused me to be put upon a handbarrow, which they used to remove dung with, and two countrymen carried me into the barn of a house belonging to him, that stood

a league off. I was likewise covered up with hay there, but not wanting drink that made me easier.

The Duke de Brissac came with his dutchess seven or eight hours after, having with them about twenty horses, and they carried me to Beaupréau, where I found the Abbot de Bélebat, who was come to visit them. I staid there but one night till all the gentlemen of the country were assembled. M. de Brissac was very much beloved there, and in a little time he got together above two hundred gentlemen. M. de Retz, who was still more beloved in his parts, joined him four leagues from thence with three hundred more. We passed almost within sight of Nantes, from whence some of the Marshal de la Meilleraie's guards came out to skirmish. They were vigorously repulsed to the field gate of the town, and we arrived safely at Machecoul, which is in the country of Retz. But this piece of good luck happened not without being allayed with domestick troubles. Madam de Brissac, who had all this while acted the part of an heroine, presenting me at parting with a bottle of imperial water, said to me: "Nothing but your misfortune hath hindered me from mixing poison with it." She made me answerable for the piece of treachery done me by M. de Noirmoutier upon her account, which I have spoken of before. It is impossible for you to conceive how much I was touched at hearing these words, and I felt beyond what I am able to express, that an honest heart carries its sensitiveness to the greatest excess of weakness, at the complaints of a person to whom he thinks himself obliged. I was not near so sensitive at the hardness of the Dutchess of Retz my sister-in-law, and that of her father. They could not hide from me their want of good will, as soon as I came.

The dutchess complained that I had not intrusted her with my escape, though she had left Nantes but the day before I made it. The father exclaimed pretty openly at my obstinacy for refusing to submit to the king's pleasure, and he did whatever he could with M. de Brissac, to oblige him to persuade me to send to the court the ratification of my resignation. The truth is, that both the father and the daughter were extremely afraid of the Marshal de la Meilleraie, who being inraged at my escape, but more still at his being abandoned by all the gentlemen of the province, was threatning to destroy all the country of Retz with fire and sword. Their fright was such that they fancied to themselves, or were at least willing that other people should fancy, that my complaints about my shoulder was an effect only of my tenderness, that there was nothing broken or out of joint,

and that the whole amounted only to a contusion. The old duke's surgeon who sided with them, said the like to everybody, adding that it was very hard that for the sake of my tenderness I should expose the whole family which was upon the point of being invested at Machecoul. I was in my bed all this while, where I felt incredible pains, and where I was not able so much as to turn. But hearing these people speak in this manner, I grew so impatient, that I resolved to leave them and to throw myself into Belle-Isle, from whence I might at least get away by sea. The passage to it was very hazardous, because the Marshal de la Meilleraie had caused all the coast to be guarded with men in arms. I ventured upon it however. I imbarked at the Port de la Roche, which lies about half a league from Machecoul, in a sloop of which la Gisclaie, captain of a man-of-war and a good seaman, would be the pilot. The weather obliged us to cast anchor at Croisic, where we were in danger of being discovered by a sloop which came to us in the night. La Gisclaie who spoke the country language, and knew all these parts, came off very well. We sailed away the next morning at break of day, and we discovered some time after a barque of Biscay, which gave us chase. We ran from it out of regard to M. de Brissac, who would not have liked to have been carried into Spain, because he was not, like me, escaping out of prison, and that such a voyage might have been looked upon as criminal in him. The barque coming full sail upon us, and being even near getting the wind of us, we thought that it would be best for us to land in the island of Retz. The barque seemed as if it would have followed us thither, and we saw it coast along for a pretty while, till at last we saw it bear off. We got again on board of our sloop at night, and we arrived at Belle-Isle at break of day.

I suffered during this passage all the pain that a man is able to bear, and I had need of all the strength of my constitution, to preserve the contusion I had on my shoulder, being so great as it was, from the gangrene, having applied to it all this while no other remedy than salt and vinegar. I met not at Belle-Isle with the same disgust as at Machecoul, but at the bottom I met not there with a much greater firmness. They fancied in the country of Retz that the Commander de Neufchaise who was at la Rochelle, would receive immediately an order for investing me in Belle-Isle, and they likewise heard there that the Marshal de la Meilleraie was preparing at Nantes two barques for that purpose. These advices were in the main right and true, but the execution of them was not by much so near at hand as they

thought, and it required a longer time than had been needed for the curing of my shoulder. But the fright they were in at Machecoul had an influence upon those of Belle-Isle, and I perceived it by their being inclined to think there, that my shoulder was not really out of joint, and that the pain which the contusion caused me, made me fancy that my ailment was greater than it really was. It is impossible to imagine the trouble which these sorts of murmurings cause when they are unjust. The Chevalier de Sévigné, a man of courage, but self-interested, was afraid of having his house pulled down; and M. de Brissac, who thought that he had made sufficient amends for the laziness, rather than weakness, which he had shewed during my imprisonment, was glad to put an end to the thing, and not expose his quiet about it for ever. I was not less impatient than they were, to see them disintangled out of a trouble in which they had ingaged only for my sake. The difference was that I thought not the danger so great either for them or for me, as to be deprived of the necessary time which I fancied might have been allowed me for curing my shoulder, and about providing myself with a ship which I might be safe upon. They would have persuaded me to have put myself on board of an Hamburgh ship, which lay in the road, ready to sail for Holland, which I thought not fit to do, the master, who was a stranger, knowing who I was, and having it in his power to carry me to Nantes as well as Holland. I proposed to them to send for the barque of Biscay, which I have mentioned, and which had cast anchor in sight of Belle-Isle; but they were afraid that to have such an intercourse with the Spaniards would be imputed to them as a crime. I imbarked at last in a fisherman's barque, in which there were only five marines of Belle-Isle, and I had with me only Joly, two of my gentlemen, and a *valet-de-chambre* whom my brother had lent me. The barque was loaded with sardines, which was good for us, because we were very bare of money. My brother had sent me some, but the man who carried it had been arrested by those that guarded the coast. His wife's father had not been so civil as to offer me any. M. de Brissac lent me 80 pistoles, and the officer who commanded in Belle-Isle 40.

We left our clothes and took some tattered ones which the soldiers of the garrison furnished us with, and we put to sea in the beginning of the night, with a design to sail to St. Sebastian, which is in the Guipuscoa. The distance to that place was great enough for such a barque as ours was, it being 80 long leagues; but it was the nearest of all those where I could land with safety.

The weather was very stormy all night long, but it grew calm at break of day, which was no great matter of comfort to us, because we lost the only mariner's compass we had. It fell into the sea by I do not know what accident. Our mariners found themselves at a great loss, and being very ignorant men, they knew not whereabouts they were. They followed no other course than that which a ship that gave them chase forced them to take. They discovered by its garb that it was a Sallee pirate. Perceiving in the evening that they were striking sail, we judged by it that they were afraid of the land, and consequently that we could not be far from it. Little birds that came to perch upon our mast made it besides plain enough. The question was what land it might be, for we were as much afraid of that of France as of that of the Turks. This made us keep off from shore all that night, and all the next day, and a ship which we spied and would have come near to inform ourselves, fired thrice at us, which was the only answer we received. We had but little water on board, and we were afraid of being surprized by foul weather, there being already some appearance of it. The night however was calm enough, and at break of day we perceived a sloop at sea. We came near it with much ado, those upon the sloop fearing that we might be pirates. We spoke Spanish and French to three men whom we saw on board, but they understood neither of these languages. One of them cried aloud San Sebastian, to let us know that they belonged to that place. We shewed him money, and answered San Sebastian, to give them to understand that we would land there. He came on board of us and conducted us thither, which was easy for him to do because we were near it.

We were no sooner landed than those of San Sebastian asked us for our charter party, which is a thing so necessary at sea, that it is a hanging matter for any master of a ship to be found without one. The master of our bark had not considered of this, thinking that I should have no need of it. The want of such a paper, and our ragged clothes, obliged the guards of the port to tell us that we were like to be hanged the next morning. Our answer was, that we were known to the Baron de Vateville, who commanded for the King of Spain in the Guipuscoa. This answer made them bring us to an inn, and Joly went with one of their men to the Baron de Vateville, who was at Port Passage, and who judged at first by his clothes that he was an impostor.

He kept however that thought to himself, and the next day he came to visit me at my inn. He made me a very long compli-

ment, but dark and entangled, and suitable to a man who was used, in the post he was in, to meet often with impostors. The arrival of Beauchesne began to give him a better opinion of me. I had sent Beauchesne from Beaupréau to Paris, and my friends had dispatched him immediately back to me to St. Sebastian, as soon as they heard that I was to steer my course to that place. The baron found him so well informed of the news that he had room to believe that he was no false courier. His news indeed was not very pleasing to the baron, for he learnt from him that the French had beat the Spaniards out of their lines at Arras, and the advice which M. de Vateville sent immediately of it to Madrid, was the first they had there of that defeat. Beauchesne came to St. Sebastian with an incredible diligence upon a ship of Biscay, which he found in the road of Belle-Isle, the master of the ship being extremely glad to find an opportunity of bringing that gentleman to me. My friends sent him to persuade me to take my way towards Rome, rather than towards Mézières, into which place they were afraid I should throw myself. Their advice was certainly the wisest, though it did not prove the most successful. I followed it without any hesitation, but not without pain. I knew enough of the court of Rome to be persuaded that the post of a refugee and a suppliant is not pleasing there; and being as much incensed as I was against Mazarin, I felt motions within me, which inclined me to go rather to some place where I might have a larger field to express my resentment. Not that I was ignorant that I ought not to have expected from the Duke de Noirmoutier everything which might perhaps have been convenient for me; but I was not ignorant neither, that being master in Mézières, as I would have been if I had gone thither, it is probable that I might have engaged M. de Noirmoutier further than he himself intended, that gentleman, after all, shewing, outwardly at least, a regard for me, and having as soon as he heard of my escape, even dispatched me a gentleman, who came with Lamet's express to offer me a retreat in both their places.

My friends did not doubt of my finding a sure retreat at Mézières, but they were in fear as to Charleville, and the situation of these two places being such, that one of them is not very considerable without the other, they thought that considering the disposition of M. de Noirmoutier, I should do better not to chuse these places for my retreat. I repeat once more here what I have already said of the probability of succeeding better there than my friends believed, not that I ground this prob-

ability upon the good intentions of Noirmoutier, but upon the effect which my presence might have produced upon him. The advice of my friends prevailed over my own views. They represented to me that the natural sanctuary for a cardinal and for a bishop that was persecuted was the Vatican. But there are conjunctures in which it is not difficult to foresee that such a sanctuary may prove an exile. I foresaw it and I chose it, that choice being grounded on the deference I had for the advice of those I had obligations to, and I have never repented of it, though the success answered not their expectation. I should value myself more upon it if it had proceeded from my own moderation, and from my desire of applying myself to my re-establishment by ecclesiastical means.

It was not the Spaniards' fault that I followed not other measures. As soon as M. de Vateville was convinced that I was the Cardinal de Retz, which the circumstances I have mentioned were a help to, and in which he was confirmed by a gentleman of Bordeaux, who was his secretary, and who had seen me at Paris several times, he took me to his house, where he kept me hid in a manner, that though the Marshal de Grammont, who was not at above three leagues' distance from San Sebastian, had sent notice to the court by an express of my arrival at that place, he thought the next day that he was under such a mistake as to oblige him to dispatch another express to unsay what he had written. I kept my bed for three weeks without being able to stir, and M. de Vateville's surgeon, who was a very able man, would not undertake my cure, because it was too late. I had my shoulder absolutely out of joint, and he condemned me to remain lame so long as I lived. I sent Boisguérin to the King of Spain with a letter, wherein I intreated him to give me leave to pass through his dominions to go to Rome. That gentleman was received both by his Catholick majesty, and by Don Lewis de Haro, with a civility beyond what I am able to express. He was sent back the very next day, with a present of a chain of gold worth 800 crowns. I had one of the king's litters sent me, and Don Christoval de Crassembac, a German, but devoted to Spain, a secretary for foreign affairs, and a great confidant of Don Lewis, was dispatched to me. He used all manner of ways to oblige me to go to Madrid. I excused myself from it, because such a journey would be of no service to his Catholic majesty, and might give a great advantage over me to my enemies. These reasons, though very good, as I believe you will own, were not reckoned such, which as I was wondering at, Vateville, who in

the presence of the secretary had been of the same mind openly with him, and even vehemently, said to me: "This journey would cost the king 50,000 crowns, and would perhaps cost you the archbishoprick of Paris, and yet it would be of no use at all. I must however speak as the other does, or they would resent it at court. We act on the principles of Philip the Second, whose maxim was always to engage strangers by publick demonstrations. You see in what manner we apply it, and you may judge of the rest by this." These words are significant, and I have myself found them since more than once to be true, when I have examined the conduct of the council of Spain. It has appeared to me on several occasions, that they fall there into as great errors by keeping too obstinately attached to their general maxims, as they do in France by the contempt they shew there for any manner of maxims or rules.

When Don Christoval saw that he could not persuade me to go to Madrid, he tried by all manner of ways to oblige me to imbark upon a frigate of Dunkirk, which was at St. Sebastian, and he made me immense offers, in case I would go into Flanders to treat with the Prince of Condé, and declare myself together with Mézières, Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe, for the Spaniards. He was in the right to propose me these measures, which would certainly have proved serviceable to the king his master. You have seen what reasons I had to refuse the proposal. What was very gallant and very civil in him, is, that notwithstanding my not accepting any of his offers, he caused however a little trunk covered with velvet to be brought, in which there were 40,000 crowns in double doubloons. I thought not fit to accept of them, considering that I did nothing for the service of his Catholic majesty, and I excused myself upon that account with all the respect which I was obliged to. But having no linen nor clothes, either for myself or for those that were with me, and the 400 [1] crowns which I received out of the sale of the sardines having been almost spent in what I gave to M. de Vateville's servants; I borrowed 400 pistoles of that gentleman, which I gave my note for, and which I have repaid him since.

After my health was somewhat restored I left St. Sebastian, and took my way towards Valencia, with an intent to imbark at Vivaros, where Don Christoval assured me that Don Juan of Austria, who was at Barcelona, would send me both a frigate

[1] Joly says 600 crowns, and that he received a like sum for the sale of another parcel of pilchards brought upon the ship in which Beauchesne came to St. Sebastian.

and a galley. I passed through all Navarre in one of the king's litters, under the name of Marquis de St. Florent, having for my conductor M. de Vateville's steward, who said that I was a gentleman of Burgundy that was going to serve the king in the Milanese. At my arrival at Tudello, a pretty considerable town, which is beyond Pampeluna, I found the people there in a pretty great commotion. They lighted fires there in the night, and kept *corps-de-gardes*. The country farmers of the neighbourhood had made an insurrection, because they had been forbidden to hunt. They had entered the town, and had used great violences there, having even pillaged some houses. A *corps-de-garde*, which was placed at ten at night before the inn where I lay, began to put me in fear that the inhabitants had some suspicion of me. But the king's litter and the muleteers who wore the king's livery, removed that fear. At midnight I saw one Don Martin come into my chamber with a very long sword and a large buckler. He told me that he was the innkeeper's son, and that he came to give me notice that the people were in a great commotion; that they believed that I was a Frenchman, who was come to foment the revolt of the farmers; that the alcade himself knew not what to think of it; and that it was to be feared that the worst sort of mob might take hold of that pretence to rob and to murder me; and that even the *corps-de-garde*, which had been set up before the inn, began themselves to murmur and to grow inflamed. I desired Don Martin to shew them without affectation the king's litter, and to bring them to speak with the muleteers, and with Don Pedro, M. de Vateville's steward. This last came into my chamber at that same instant to tell me that they were *endemoniados*,[1] who understood neither rhyme nor reason, and that they had threatened to murder him himself. We passed the whole night in this manner, having for serenades a multitude of confused voices that sung, or rather howled songs against the French. I thought fit the next morning to shew these men by our assured countenance, that they were mistaken in taking us for Frenchmen. But as I was offering to go out to mass, I met a sentinel at the door, who made me get into my chamber again hastily enough, by putting the butt end of his musket to my head, and by telling me that he was ordered by the alcade to command me in the king's name to keep where I was. I sent Don Martin to the alcade to tell him who I was, and Don Pedro went along with him. The alcade came immediately to me. He left his

[1] Persons possessed.

wand at the door, and kneeling to me, he kissed the skirt of my coat; but he declared that he could not let me go till he had an order for it from the Count de San Estevan, Viceroy of Navarre, who was at Pampeluna. Don Pedro went to him with an officer of the town, and they came back with many excuses from the viceroy. They gave me a convoy of 50 soldiers mounted upon asses, who accompanied me as far as Cortes.

I continued my journey through Sarragossa, the capital city of Arragon, a large and fine town. I was surprized to the last degree to hear in the streets everybody talking French. There is indeed a vast number of French in that place, most of them are artisans, who are more attached to Spain than even the Spaniards themselves. The Duke de Montéléon, a Neapolitan of the house of Pignatelli, viceroy of Arragon, sent a gentleman to meet me upon the road at three or four leagues' distance from the town, and to tell me that he would have come himself with all the gentry, if the king his master had not sent him word to obey my orders, which he knew would be against his coming. This compliment, which, as you see, was very civil, was accompanied with all possible marks of kindness, and with all manner of refreshments which I met with at Sarragossa. Before one enters the town on the side on which I went, one sees the alcazar [1] of the ancient kings of the Moors, which belongs at present to the Inquisition. There is near it a walk of trees, in which I saw a priest walking. The gentleman belonging to the viceroy told me, that that priest was the curate of Occa, a very ancient town in Arragon, and that the curate was there performing quarantain, after having buried, three weeks since, his last parishioner, who was in reality the last man of twelve thousand who had died of the plague in his parish. The same gentleman of the viceroy's shewed me all that was remarkable at Sarragossa. I went all this while under the name of Marquis de St. Florent, but the gentleman did not reflect that Nuestra Señora del Pilar, which is the most famous sanctuary of all Spain, could not be seen under that title. They never discover to the sight of anybody that miraculous image, except to sovereign princes, and to cardinals. The Marquis de St. Florent appeared to be neither, so that when I was seen within the banisters, with a black velvet coat, and a cravat on, the multitude of people that had been brought thither by the sound of a bell that never rings but upon account of that ceremony, thought me to be the King of England. I believed that there were above two hundred coaches full of ladies, who all

[1] Palace.

expressed the greatest civilities to me, to which I could make a return but in very indifferent Spanish. That church is fine in itself, but its ornaments and riches are immense, and its treasury magnificent. I was shewed there a man who was employed to light the lamps, the number of which is prodigious, and I was told, that he had been seen at the door of that church for seven years together but with one leg, whereas now he had two. The dean and all the prebends assured me, that the whole town had seen it as well as they; and that if I would stay but two days longer, I might speak to above 20,000 persons from the neighbourhood, who had seen him, as well as those of the town. He had recovered his last leg (as he said) by anointing himself with some oil out of the lamps. They keep there a yearly holy-day, in memory of that pretended miracle, with an incredible concourse of people; and the truth is, that at the distance of a day's journey from Sarragossa, I still met the roads full of persons of all qualities running to it.

From the kingdom of Arragon I came into that of Valencia, which may not only be called the wholesomest, but likewise the finest country in the world. Pomegranate-trees, orange-trees, and lemon-trees, serve there for pallisades to all the great roads. The finest and clearest waters run along them like canals. The whole country round, which is enamelled with millions of different sorts of flowers, exhales millions of different sorts of odours of a charming smell. I arrived through that country at Vinaros, where Don Ferdinando Carillo Zuatra, general of the galleys of Naples, joined me the next day with the admiral galley of his squadron, an excellent and fine ship, and reinforced with the best part of the galley-slaves, and of the soldiers, belonging to the vice-admiral's galley, that had been in a manner disarmed for that purpose. Don Ferdinando brought me a letter from Don Juan of Austria, as finely written, and as well turned, as any one I have ever seen. He left it to my choice either to make use of that galley, or of a frigate of Dunkirk of 36 guns, that was in that port. This last was the safest to pass the Gulf of Lion, in so far advanced a season, for we were in the month of October. I chose the galley, which (as you will see) was not wisely done of me. Don Christoval de Cardona, a knight of St. James, arrived at Vinaros a quarter of an hour after Don Ferdinando Carillo, and he told me that the Duke de Montalte, viceroy of Valencia, had sent him to offer me all that he had in his power; that he knew that I had refused his Catholick majesty's present at St. Sebastian; that he durst not for that

reason press me to accept what the paymaster of the galleys was ordered to bring me; but that knowing that the precipitancy with which I had left France, had not given me time to take much money with me; knowing besides, that being very liberal, I should not be sorry to give some regale to the people on board the galley; he hoped that I would not refuse some little refreshments to that purpose.

These refreshments consisted of six great chests full of all sorts of sweetmeats made at Valencia; of twelve dozen pair of Spanish gloves, of an exquisite smell; and of a perfumed purse, in which there were two thousand pieces of gold coined in the Indies, which were worth two thousand five or six hundred pistoles. I accepted the present without any manner of difficulty, and my answer was, that as I did not find myself in a condition to do his Catholick majesty any service, I thought that I should have been wanting to my duty all manner of ways, if I had accepted the considerable sums which were brought to me from him at St. Sebastian, and which were offered me at Vinaros by his order; but that I should think likewise I was wanting to the respect I owed to so great a monarch, if I should refuse to accept this last present, which he was pleased to honour me with. This was the reason of my accepting of it; but before I imbarked I presented the captain of the galley with the sweetmeats, I gave the gloves to Don Ferdinand, and I sent the gold by Don Pedro to the Baron de Vateville, with a letter importing that having heard him say several times how imbarrassed he was by reason of the great expence which he was put to for finishing the building the admiral ship for the West Indies, which was upon the stocks at St. Sebastian, I sent him a small grain, as a remedy against his headache, for so he called the pain which the building of that ship cost him. My manner of acting on this occasion was a little over-strained. I was in the right to give the refreshments to the captain, and as for the gloves it was a thing indifferent to keep them for myself or to give them to Don Ferdinand; but it had been prudent in me to have kept the gold. The Spaniards have never forgiven it me, and have attributed to my aversion, a refusal which was in effect but the natural consequence of the resolution which I had taken of never accepting money from anybody.

I imbarked at the second watch of the night, the wind being high, but going before it, it did not incommode us much. Our ship ran fifteen miles an hour, and we arrived the next day at Majorca. The plague being in Arragon, all the ships that came

from the coast of Spain were obliged to call at that island. It was with a pretty deal of difficulty that we could obtain leave to have any communication with the town, the magistrates opposing it with vigour. The viceroy, who is not near so absolute in that island as other viceroys are in Spain, and who had received an order from the king his master to do me all the civilities possible, obtained at last by his instances, leave for me, and for those that belonged to me, to come into the town, upon condition that I should not lie in it. We thought this, you may be sure, pretty odd, because the contagious air may be carried to a place, though you do not lie in it. I was saying it in the afternoon to a gentleman of Majorca, who made me the following answer, which I took notice of, because it may be applied to a thousand occasions one may meet with. "We are not afraid of your bringing here the contagious air, because we know that you have not passed at Occa: but having been pretty near it, we are glad to make you an example, which will not incommode you, and of which the consequences will be of service to us." This has something stronger, and even more gallant, in the Spanish tongue than in ours.

The viceroy, who was a count of the kingdom of Arragon, came to fetch me with 100 or 120 coaches, full of persons of distinction, having the best air of any in Spain. He carried me to mass at the Seo, which is a name they give to all cathedrals. I saw there between thirty and forty women of quality all handsomer one than another, and what is wonderful is, that there are no ugly women in all the island, or at least they are very few in number. Their beauty for the most part is of the most delicate kind, and their complexion all lillies and roses; even the ordinary women that walk the streets are all such. They have a particular sort of dress, which is very becoming. The viceroy gave me a magnificent dinner in a rich tent of gold brocade which was set up by the seaside. He carried me afterwards to a concert of musick in a convent of nuns nothing inferior in beauty to the ladies of the town. They sang at their grille, in honour of their saint, airs, and words more gallant and more passionate than those of Lambert.[1] Towards evening we walked round the town, and saw the finest country imaginable, and such as we had seen in the kingdom of Valencia. After walking we came to the vice-queen, who was as ugly as the devil, and who, being seated under a large canopy, and all covered over with precious

[1] A famous musician of Paris, whose daughter Signior Baptisto Lully married.

stones, gave a marvellous lustre to threescore ladies that sat round her, who were the choicest beauties of the town. I was brought back to the galley with fifty white wax flambeaux, whilst all the guns of the ramparts were discharged, and whilst a vast number of hautboys and trumpets were playing. I spent in these diversions the three days which the bad weather forced me to stay at Majorca. I left that island upon the fourth with a fresh gale of wind behind us, which carried us fifty leagues in twelve hours, so that I arrived safely before night at Port-Mahon, which is the finest port in the Mediterranean. The entrance into it is very straight, and I do not believe that two galleys could pass in it at once. It widens on a sudden and forms an oblong harbour of a good half league broad, and a good league long. A great hill that surrounds it on all sides forms a theatre, which by the number and height of the trees that cover it, and by the waters that fall from it in great abundance, opens thousands and thousands of scenes, more surprizing, without exaggeration, than those of our operas. That same hill, the trees, the rocks, guard the port against all winds, so that in the most tempestuous weather the water is always calm and smooth. It is equally deep everywhere, and the Spanish galleons can ride in it at four steps' distance from the ground. This port is in the island of Minorca, which furnishes more flesh and more of all sorts of provisions necessary for ships, than that of Majorca furnishes pomegranates, oranges, and lemons.

The weather grew extremely stormy after our arrival in this port, which obliged us to stay there for four days. We tried four times to put to sea, but the wind would not give us leave. Don Ferdinando Carillo, who was a young gentleman of quality, of twenty-four years of age, mighty civil and mighty kind, sought to procure me all the diversion that that fine place would afford. We found there hunting of all kinds, and fishing in abundance. A way of fishing particular to that port was this. Don Ferdinand chose a hundred Turks out of his ship's crew, who were set in rank and were made to hold a very large cable. Four of the Turks dived to the bottom and tied the cable to a large stone, which their companions drew by that means upon the shore, after having used incredible efforts about it. The breaking of that stone with hammers proved not much less difficult. They found in it seven or eight shell-fish, less than oysters in bigness, but of a higher relish beyond comparison.

The weather growing calmer we put to sea with a design to pass the Gulf of Lion, which begins there and is one hundred

leagues long and forty broad. It is extremely dangerous, as well because of the sands, which they say it abounds with, as because it has no port anywhere. The coast of Barbary which bounds it on one side, is often not approachable: that of Languedoc which joins it on the other side, is very bad. In short that passage is not at all to be liked for gallies when the season is advancing towards winter, and it was pretty far advanced for us, the month of November being near approaching, when blustering winds are always blowing. Don Ferdinand, who was one of the most venturesome gentlemen in Spain, confessed to me that a small frigate had been better on this occasion than the strongest galley. We passed the gulf in thirty-six hours' time with the finest weather in the world, and with a wind which at the same time that it served us, did not oblige us to set up any light upon our stern. We entered in this manner into the channel which is between Corsica and Sardinia. Don Ferdinand Carillo perceiving some clouds which made him fear a change of weather, proposed to me to go and cast anchor at Porto Condé, which is an uninhabited place in Sardinia, which I agreed to; but his fear vanishing away with the clouds, he altered his mind, that he might not lose the fair weather, which was a great piece of good luck for me; for M. de Guise who was going to Naples with a French fleet, had cast anchor at that place with six galleys. Don Ferdinand Carillo, who was informed of it two days after, told me that he would have made but little account of these six galleys, having on board his own 450 men, which was enough to have resisted them. But it had been however an encounter, which a man who was escaping from prison would sooner still have avoided than any other.

The fort of St. Boniface, which is in Corsica, and belongs to the Genoese, fired four gunshots when they perceived us, and being at too great a distance from the fort to take this for a salute, we judged that it was a signal which they gave us, as it was true, for it was to give us notice of the enemies being at Porto Condé. We did not understand it this way, and we thought that it was to let us know that a small frigate which we saw before us at the coming out of the Channel, was a Turkish pirate, as it appeared to be by the garb. Don Ferdinand took it into his head to attack it, and he told me that if I would permit him he would give me the pleasure of seeing a fight that would not last above a quarter of an hour. He ordered his pilot to give chase to the frigate, which indeed seemed to make the best of its way in order to avoid us. The pilot, who was intent upon nothing but

the obeying that order, did not mind a shelf which though it did not appear above water, is so well known that it is even marked out in maps. Our galley struck against it, and nothing being more dangerous at sea, everybody began to lament. All the slaves rose up, trying to undo their fetters and to escape by swimming. Don Ferdinand Carillo, who was playing at piquet with Joly in the stern-room, threw to me the first sword that he could find, crying to me to draw it out. He drew out his and slashed all the slaves he met, as did likewise his officers and soldiers, being afraid that the whole crew of slaves, among whom there were many Turks, would make themselves masters of the galley, as it has sometimes happened on such occasions. After they had all taken again their usual places, he said to me with the greatest calm and assurance possible: "My order, sir, is, first of all to take care of you; I must therefore provide for your safety, and will afterwards see whether the galley be damaged." He ordered at this, four slaves to take me up, and to put me into the felucca. Thirty Spanish soldiers came into it likewise by his order, whom he commanded to carry me upon a little rock which appeared near us, and on which not above four or five persons could find room. The soldiers were in the water to the middle, which I took compassion at, and finding that our galley was not damaged, I was for sending them back to it; but they told me that if those of Corsica, who stood upon the shore, perceived me to be without a good guard they would infallibly come to pillage and murder me; these barbarians fancying that all that is cast away belongs to them.

The galley was not damaged, which was a kind of miracle. They were however above two hours in setting it to rights. The felucca came to take me up, and I was glad when I found myself again upon the galley. As we were coming out of the channel, we still perceived the frigate, which was pursuing its way after having found that we had ceased to give her chase. But we began again to do it, and she to run away from us. We joined her in less than two hours' time, and we found that it was in effect a Turkish ship, but that it belonged to the Genoese, who had taken it from the Turks and had set it out. To tell you the truth I was very glad to see this adventure end in this manner, this sort of war being not to my liking. The weather growing somewhat foul, Don Ferdinand thought fit to go to Porto Vecchio, which is another uninhabited port of Corsica. A trumpeter came thither from the governor of a fort belonging to the Genoese, which is just by it, to give us notice, that M. de Guise was at Porto

Condé with six French galleys; that it was likely that he had seen us pass by, and perhaps that he intended to come and surprize us there in the night time. Upon this we resolved to put out to sea again, though the weather began to be very tempestuous, and that it was even somewhat dangerous to come out of Porto Vecchio during the night, because that at the mouth of it there is a rock from whence there descends a pretty troublesome current. The foul weather encreased with the night, and we were attacked with the greatest storm that was ever seen at sea. The pilot in chief of the galleys of Naples, who was on board of us, and who had used the sea for fifty years, said that he had never seen the like. Everybody were at their prayers, or were confessing themselves; and none but Don Ferdinand Carillo, who received the communion every day when he was on shore, and who was a gentleman of an exemplary piety, forbore shewing any forwardness to prostrate himself at the feet of the priests. He left others at liberty to do what they pleased, but he kept quiet himself; and he whispered these words into my ear: "I am much afraid that all these confessions, extorted only by fear, are nought." He remained all along upon the bridge, giving his orders with a surprizing coolness, and heartening, but mildly and civilly, some old soldiers who appeared a little frightened. I shall always remember that he called them *sennores soldados de Carlos quinto*. The private captain of the galley caused, in the greatest height of the danger, his embroidered coat, and his red scarf to be brought to him, saying that a true Spaniard ought to die bearing his king's marks of distinction. He sat himself down in a great elbow-chair, and with his foot struck a poor Neapolitan in the jaws, who not being able to stand, was crawling along, crying out aloud, "*Sennor don Fernando, por l'amor de Dios, confession.*" The captain when he struck him said to him, "*Enemigo de Dios, pides confession?*" And as I was representing to him that his inference was not right, he said that that old man gave offence to the whole galley. You cannot imagine the horror of a great storm; you can as little imagine the ridicule mixed with it. A Sicilian Observantine monk was preaching at the foot of the great mast, that St. Francis had appeared to him and had assured him that we should not perish. I should never have done, should I undertake to describe the ridiculous frights that are seen on these occasions.

The great danger lasted but seven hours, after which we sought for a little shelter under the Pianouse. Finding the wind to abate we got to Porto-Longone. We spent there the feast

of All Saints and that of All Souls, the wind being contrary for us to come out of the port. The governor, a Spaniard, shewed me all the civility imaginable; and finding that the wind continued to be contrary, he advised me to go and see Porto-Ferraro. There is but five miles' distance from one port to the other, and I went thither on horseback.

I have already told you that nothing so agreeable can be seen in the rural scenes of an opera, as the scene at Port-Mahon; and I may be allowed to tell you now with as much truth, that there is nothing so magnificent in the most stately scenes you ever saw there, as is to be seen at Porto-Ferraro. None but a man versed in fortifications can well describe it, and I will only tell you that the strength of it surpasses its magnificence. It is the only place in the world that is impregnable, as the Marshal de la Meilleraie confessed. He went to visit it, after having taken Porto-Longone during the regency, and being an impetuous man, he told the commander Grifoni, who commanded in it for the great Duke of Tuscany, that the fortification of it was good, but that if the king his master commanded him to attack it, he would give him a good account of it in six weeks' time. The commander Grifoni replied, that he took too long a term, and that the great duke was so much the king's humble servant, that a moment would suffice. The marshal was ashamed of having spoken so rashly, or rather so brutishly; and to make the commander some amends, he said to him: "You are a gallant man, and I am a fool. I confess that your place is impregnable." The marshal related this story to me at Nantes, and Grifoni, who still commanded in that place when I passed there, confirmed it to me.

The wind suffering us to come out of Porto-Longone, we landed at Piombino, which is upon the coast of Tuscany. I left the galley at that place, after I had given to the officers, to the soldiers, and to the crew of slaves, all the money I had left, and even the chain which his Catholick majesty had given to Boisguérin. I bought it of him, and I sold it to the factor of Prince Ludovisio, who is Prince of Piombino. I kept but nine pistoles, which I thought would be sufficient to carry me to Florence.

I am obliged to say, for the sake of truth, that never men deserved better to be rewarded than those who were upon that galley. Their discretion in respect to me is perhaps without example. They were above 600 men, of whom there was not one that knew me; and of all that number there was not one that gave the least demonstration of it, either to myself or to any other. Their gratitude was equal to their discretion. They were

touched to that degree with the gratuities that I gave them, that they all wept when I left them to go to Piombino. This was, properly speaking, the place where I recovered my liberty, which till that time had run some risk, as the adventures which I have related will shew.

BOOK V

A.D. 1654–1655

I STAID but four hours at Piombino; I left it as soon as I had dined, and took my way towards Florence. I met at three or four leagues of this side of Volterre, one Signor Annibal; (I do not remember his family name) he was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the great duke, who upon the advice which the governor of Porto-Ferraro had given him of my coming, had sent him to compliment me, and to desire me to consent to make a slight quarantine before I came any further into his country.

The great duke was at some odds with the Genoese, which made him afraid that they might take this pretence of his communicating with persons who came from the coast of Spain, which was suspected of having the plague, to forbid all commerce with Tuscany. Signor Annibal carried me to a house called L'Hospitalita, which is by Volterre, and which is built upon the field of battle where Catiline was killed. That house belonged formerly to the great Lawrence of Medici, and is fallen by alliances into the house of Corsini. I staid there nine days, during which time I was magnificently treated by the officers of the great duke. The Abbot Charrier, who upon the first notice of my arrival had gone to Porto-Ferraro, came post from Florence to meet me at this house, where the Bailly de Gondi came likewise with the great duke's coaches, to fetch me away and to carry me to Camogliano, a fine and sumptuous seat belonging to the Marquis Nicolini, a near relation of his, where I lay that night. I left it the next morning pretty early, to go to Lambrosiano, which is a hunting house, where the great duke had been for some days. He did me the honour to come to meet me at Empoly, a pretty town enough, about a league from Lambrosiano. The first thing he said to me after the first compliment, was, that I had not met in Spain with the Spaniards of Charles the Fifth's time. After he had taken me to the apartment prepared for me at Lambrosiano, and when I found myself in the chamber where I was to lie, sitting in a

great chair above him, I asked him whether I acted the farce well. He did not understand my meaning at first, but when he knew that it was to let him see that I did not forget myself, and that if I took the upper hand of him, it was not at least without making due reflections upon it; he said to me, "You are the first cardinal that ever spoke to me in this manner. But you are likewise the first for whom I have done what I now do without regret." I staid three days with him at Lambrosiano, and upon the second he came into my chamber pretty much moved, saying to me, "I am come to shew you a letter from the Duke d'Arcos, Viceroy of Naples, which will let you see in what condition that kingdom is." I found by the letter that M. de Guise was landed there; that there had been a great fight near the Grecian tower; that the viceroy hoped that the French would make no progress there; that it was at least what his soldiers insinuated; "For," added the viceroy, "as *Io non soi soldato*,[1] I am obliged to rely upon their judgment." The confession, as you see, was odd enough for a viceroy. The great duke made me many offers, though Cardinal Mazarin threatned him in the king's name with a rupture, if he gave me passage through his dominions. Nothing could be more ridiculous, and the great duke for answer caused his resident (as this last has since assured me) to desire the cardinal to furnish him with some invention to bring the pope and the sacred college to consent to such refusal. Of all the great duke's offers, I took only four thousand crowns, which sum I thought I should want, the Abbot Charrier having told me that there were as yet no remittances for me at Rome. I gave the great duke a note under my hand for the repayment of that sum, which I owe him still, his highness having consented to be put the last in the list of my creditors, as being certainly the least in want of being repaid.

From Lambrosiano, I went to Florence, where I staid two days with the Cardinal John Charles de Medici, and with the Prince Leopold his brother, who has been since likewise a cardinal. They gave me one of the great duke's litters to carry me to Sienna, where I met with Prince Mathias who was governor of it. Nothing could be added to the civilities that I received from that house, some of whom have borne, and all have certainly deserved the title of magnificent. I continued my journey in their litters and accompanied by their officers, and the rains having been excessive in Italy, I had like to have been drowned near Ponte Centine, in a torrent into which a thunder-clap that

[1] I am no soldier.

frightened my mules caused my litter to fall during the night. I was certainly in a great deal of danger on that occasion.

At half a day's journey from Rome, the Abbot Rousseau, who held the rope at Nantes by means of which I escaped, and who having found means afterwards to make his own escape out of the castle, as he did in a very resolute and in a very fortunate manner was come to Rome to wait there for me; the Abbot Rousseau I say, came to inform me that the French faction had declared very much against me at Rome, and that they even threatened to hinder me from coming thither. I continued my journey however, and having met with no obstacle, I arrived there, and went to St. Peter's church to prayers, from whence I alighted at the Abbot Charrier's house. I found there Monsignor Febey master of the ceremonies, who waited for me, and who was ordered by the pope to direct me at my first coming. Monsignor Franzoni, treasurer of the chamber, and who is now a cardinal came thither afterwards with a purse in which there were four thousand crowns in gold, which his holiness sent me with all possible marks of civility. I went incognito that evening in a chair, to wait on the Signora Olimpia, and on the Princess of Rossano, and I came back to the Abbot Charrier's, accompanied only by two gentlemen.

The next morning as I was in bed, the Abbot de la Rocheposay who was altogether unknown to me, came into my chamber and after having first complimented me upon some relation that was between us, he told me, that he thought himself obliged to give me notice that the Cardinal d'Este, Protector of France had terrible orders from the king against me; that at the time he was speaking, the cardinals of the French faction were holding a congregation at the Cardinal d'Este's house, where they were to resolve upon the particular measures which they were to take against me; for they were before come to a general resolution conformably to his majesty's orders, not to suffer me to stay at Rome, but to drive me away from thence at any rate. My answer to the Abbot de la Rocheposai was, that I had such violent scruples, as to the conduct which I had formerly followed at Paris, that I was resolved rather to die a thousand times, than to think upon defending myself; but that I thought on the other side that it was contrary to the duty of a cardinal to come near the pope, and afterwards to leave Rome without having kissed his feet; so that all that I could do in the extremity I found myself in, was to commit myself to the Divine Providence and to go alone with him in a quarter of an hour's time, if

pleased, to mass, at a little church which was in sight of my house. The abbot perceived that I bantered him, and he left me pretty much displeased with his negotiation, which had in my opinion been put upon him by poor Cardinal Antonio, a good man, but weak beyond imagination. I thought fit however to let the pope know of these threatnings, upon which his holiness sent immediately the Abbot Charrier to Count Vidman, a noble Venetian, and colonel of his guards, to tell him that he should be answerable for my person, in case that, if he saw the least appearance of stirring in the French faction, he did not dispose as he thought fit of his Switzers, his Corsicans, his lancers, and his light horse. I was so civil as to send notice of this order to the Cardinal d'Este, though I did it in an indirect manner by the means of Monsignor Scotti; and the Cardinal d'Este was likewise so civil as to leave me at quiet.

The pope gave me the next day an audience that lasted four hours, wherein he expressed a more than ordinary good-will to me, and wherein he shewed a very uncommon genius. He even descended so low as to make me some excuses for not having acted more vigorously for my liberty. He wept, and even abundantly, and he said to me, "God forgive those who have been negligent in giving me the first advice of your imprisonment. That rascal Valançay imposed on me, and told me that you were convicted of having attempted on the king's person. I received no courier, either from your friends or relations. The ambassador had all manner of time allowed him to put upon us what he pleased, and to cool the first fire of the sacred college, half of whom thought that you were forsaken by the whole kingdom, when they saw nobody sent from you hither." The Abbot Charrier, who for want of money was kept ten or twelve days at Paris after my detention, had informed me of these particulars at l'Hospitalita, and he had even told me further that he should have been kept at Paris longer, if the Abbot Amelot had not lent him two thousand crowns. That delay cost me dear, for it is certain that if the pope had received first an express sent by my friends, he had not given the ambassador audience, or had staid to give it him till he had fixed upon some resolution. That fault was a capital one, and the more so because it might easily have been prevented. My steward had 14,000 livres of my money in his hands when I was arrested. My friends did not want money even for my service, as it appeared by their manner of assisting me afterwards. This is not the only conjuncture in which I have observed that the averseness which

most men have to part with their money, is the cause that they never do it time enough, even in conjunctures when they are most resolved to do it. I have never discovered these particulars to anybody, because they nearly concern some of my friends. But as I am intirely yours, I owe you the full and entire truth.

The pope held a consistory the day that followed my audience on purpose to give me the hat, and said to me, "Considering that the Cardinal d'Este is altogether likely to commit some impertinence in this conjuncture, he must be misled and made to believe that you will not be present at the consistory." It was an easy matter for me to make him think so, because I really was extremely ill, that Nicolo, the most famous surgeon at Rome had said that if my shoulder was not quickly looked after I was like to fall into worse symptoms still. I went to bed upon that pretence at my return from the pope, who caused some report to be spread in relation to that consistory, which served to deceive the French cardinals. They all went thither thinking no harm, and they were much surprized when they saw me come in with the master of the ceremonies, and in a condition to receive the hat. The Cardinals d'Este and Orsini went out, but Cardinal Bichi staid. It is impossible to imagine the effect which these sorts of tricks produce, in favour of those who act them well, in a country where the discredit of passing for a dupe is greater than anywhere else.

The pope's good disposition towards me, which he carried so far as to have some thoughts of adopting me for his nephew, and his evil disposition towards Cardinal Mazarin, had in all likelihood quickly produced some other scenes, if his holiness had not fallen ill within three days of the distemper of which he died five weeks after. All that I could do before the conclave began was to have my shoulder looked after. Nicolo put it out of joint a second time, in order to set it right. He put me to intolerable pain, and did not succeed in his operation. The pope died, and as I had been most of that while confined to my bed, I had had but very little time to prepare myself for the conclave, which was likely however in all appearance to give me a great deal of trouble. The Cardinal d'Este was saying publickly that he had the king's order to forbear, not only communicating with me but even saluting me. The Duke de Terra-Nova, the Spanish ambassador, had made me all the offers imaginable, in his Catholick majesty's name, as had likewise the Cardinal Harrach in the name of the emperor. The old Cardinal de Medici, dean of the sacred college, and protector of Spain, took at first a

inclination to me; but it is easy for you to judge, by what passed at St. Sebastian and at Vinaros, that I had no design to enter into the faction of the house of Austria. I was not ignorant that a foreign cardinal persecuted by his king could make but a very mean figure, at a place where the regard which both publick and private persons have for the Catholick crowns is still greater than anywhere else, by reason that it is the more pressing and more immediate interest of every one not to displease them. It was however not only important but even necessary for me to consider of some measures in a court where foresight is not less reputable than it is useful. To tell you the truth, I found myself very much perplexed in this conjuncture, and this is the method which I thought fit to follow. Pope Innocent, who was a great man, had particularly applied himself to make a right choice of persons, at the promotions he had made of cardinals, and it is certain that he mistook but in very few. The Signora Olimpia forced him in some manner, by the ascendant which she had over him, to honour with this dignity Maidalchini his nephew, who was yet a child: but it may be said, that excepting this, all the others were either good, or supported by considerations that justified them. It is even true that in most of them their merit, joined to their birth, concurred to render them illustrious. Those of that number who did not find themselves attached to the Catholick crowns by their nomination, or by their faction, found themselves altogether at liberty at the death of the pope, because Cardinal Pamphilio his nephew, having resigned his hat to marry the Princess of Rossano, and the Cardinal Astalli whom his holiness had adopted, having since lost that adoption even shamefully, there was nobody that could set up himself at the head of that faction during the conclave. Those that found themselves in that state, which might be called a free one, were the Cardinals Chigi, Lomelini, Ottoboni, Imperiali, Aquaviva, Pio, Borromeo, Albrizzi, Gualtieri, Azzolini, Homodei, Cibo, Odescalchi, Vidman, and Aldobrandini. Ten of them, which were Lomelini, Ottoboni, Imperiali, Borromeo, Aquaviva, Pio, Gualtieri, Albrizzi, Homodei, and Azzolini, took it into their heads to make use of their liberty, to deliver the sacred college from the custom which subjects the cardinals in the giving their vote, to the faction of their benefactors, when they ought only to hearken to what the Holy Ghost inspires them with. They resolved to stick close only to their duty, and to profess publickly at the entring into the conclave a perfect independency on any faction or crown. The faction of Spain being at that time the

strongest at Rome, both by reason of their own number, and by the conjunction of those attached to the house of Medici, it was that faction that made the greatest noise at the independency of the flying squadron, for so they called the ten cardinals whom I have named.

I took my time when the Cardinal John Charles de Medici was exclaiming, in the name of the Spanish faction, against the flying squadron, to unite with it, after having however observed the necessary decorum in respect to France: for I desired Monsignor Scotti, who had been nuncio in extraordinary there and who was agreeable to the court, to go to all the cardinals of the French faction, and to intreat them in my name that they would let me know what I was to do for the king's service; that I did not desire to be let into the secret, but only to be acquainted day by day with what steps I was to take to perform my duty.

The Cardinal Grimaldi sent me a very civil and obliging answer by Monsignor Scotti; but the Cardinals d'Este, Bichi and Ursini, treated me with a great deal of haughtiness and even with contempt. I declared the very next day in publick, that since they would afford me no manner of means to be serviceable to France, I thought that the best thing I could do, was to join at least with those who were the least dependant on the Spanish faction. I was received amongst the flying squadron with all the civility possible, and the event shewed that I was in the right to do as I did.

I cannot say the like of my conduct at that same time with M. de Lionne. That gentleman was reconciled to Cardinal Mazarin, who sent him to Rome to sollicit against me, and who gave him the quality of ambassador extraordinary to the prince of Italy, that he might appear at Rome with more dignity. Lionne being a pretty great friend of Montrésor's had seen him before he left Paris, and had desired him to write me word that he would do his best to soften matters, and that I should perceive it by the effects. He spoke sincerely, having tolerable good intentions for me. But I answered it in another manner than I ought, which was not one of the least faults that I have committed in my lifetime. I will give you the particulars of it, with the reasons of my conduct, which was not good, after I have given you an account of the conclave.

The first step that the flying squadron took during the nine days that are spent in the pope's obsequies, was to unite with Cardinal Barberini, who had it in his head to bring to the chair Cardinal Sachetti, a man much resembling the late President I

Bailleul, of whom Ménage used to say, that he was good for nothing but to have his picture drawn. It is certain that Cardinal Sachetti was a man but of mean parts, but being a creature of Pope Urban's, to whose house he had always been truly attached, Barberini had set his thoughts on him, and the more strongly because his exaltation appeared, and was really, difficult to the last degree. Cardinal Barberini, whose life is angelical, has an oddness of humour which renders him, as they say in Italy, *inamorato de l'impossibile*. The exaltation of Sachetti was little less than impossible. His intimate friendship with Mazarin, who had been, if not a domestick, a table companion at least of his brother's, was not a good recommendation for him with Spain: but what kept him still further from the chair, was the publick declaration which the house of Medici, which was besides at the head of the Spanish faction, had made against him, at the conclave preceding this.

Those of the squadron who had in view the making Cardinal Chigi pope, thought that the only way to engage Cardinal Barberini to serve him, was to oblige him to do it out of a principle of gratitude, by using truly and sincerely their utmost efforts to bring Sachetti to the chair, because they foresaw that all their endeavours would come to nothing, or would serve at least only to unite them to Cardinal Barberini in so intimate a manner that nothing could hinder him afterwards from concurring with what they desired. This was the whole mystery of a conclave that hath furnished all those who have been pleased to give us the history of it, with a thousand impertinencies. And I am ready to maintain that the way of reasoning of the squadron was very just. It was this: "We are persuaded that Chigi is the candidate of the greatest merit that is in the college, and we are no less persuaded that we cannot make him pope but by doing our utmost in favour of Sachetti. The worst that can happen is our succeeding in bringing Sachetti to the chair, which indeed would not be a very good choice, but not the worst that we could make. In all appearance we shall not succeed in it, in which case we shall bring Barberini to give his vote and interest to Chigi, as well out of gratitude as to keep us all attached to him. We shall bring over to Chigi the factions of Spain and of Medici, for fear that we should at last carry it in favour of Sachetti, and the faction of France likewise when they find it impossible for them to hinder it." These measures, which were solid and profound, and of which it must be confessed that Cardinal Azzolini was the chief contriver, were

approved of unanimously at the Transpontine, where the flying squadron assembled from the first days that the obsequies of the pope began, and they were approved of even after having examined maturely the difficulties of such an undertaking, which would have appeared insurmountable to persons of a mean understanding. Great names are always of a mighty weight with such sort of persons. France, Spain, the Empire, Tuscany, were names very fit to frighten them. There was no appearance that Cardinal Mazarin could be for Chigi, who was nuntio at Munster at the time that the peace was negotiating there, and who had declared himself openly more than once against Servien, who was there plenipotentiary of France. Neither was there any likelihood that Spain would approve of him. Cardinal Trivulzio, the ablest cardinal of that faction, and perhaps of the whole college, exclaimed publickly against him as a bigot, and he was at the bottom much afraid of his exaltation, by reason of the severity of Chigi, a candidate impossible to bear, for his debaucheries, which were indeed very scandalous. It was not to be supposed that Cardinal John Charles of Medici could be well inclined towards Chigi, both for the same reason as Trivulzio, and by reason of his birth, for he was of Sienna, and known to be a passionate lover of his country, which is likewise known not to be much inamoured with the dominion of Florence.

Every one of these considerations were weighed and examined. All that was probable, or doubtful, or possible, was entered into; and the squadron fixed at last upon the resolution which I have mentioned, and which was so much the wiser, because it carried with it the appearance of boldness. It must be confessed that perhaps there never was anything concerted, of which the harmony kept so true as it did in this, and it seemed as if all those that concurred in it were formed on purpose to act in concert together. The vivacity of Imperiali was corrected by the phlegm of Lomelini; Ottoboni's profound sense made a right use of Aquaviva's haughtiness: the candour of Homodei, and the reservedness of Gualtieri, served to cover, when occasion required, the impetuosity of Pio, and the duplicity of Albrizzi: Azzolini, whose genius is one of the finest and supplest in the world, was continually upon the watch to observe all these different motions; and the inclinations which the Cardinals de Medici, and Barberini, heads of the two most opposite factions, had taken at first for me, supplied in me upon occasion the want of those qualities which were necessary to maintain my character with them. All the actors did their parts well; the action went

on without any interruption; there was no great variety of scenes, but the play was the finer for not being overcharged with plot. Whatever was written about it, there was no other mystery than what I have explained to you before; but it must be owned that the episodes of it were curious. I now come to the particulars.

The conclave, if I am not mistaken, lasted eighty days. We gave every morning and every afternoon, two or three and thirty votes to Sachetti; which votes were made up of the faction of France, of the creatures of Pope Urban, uncle to Cardinal Barberini, and of the flying squadron. The votes of the Spaniards, of the Germans, and of the Medici, were dispersed among several candidates in every scrutiny; and they affected to act in this manner to give their conduct an air more ecclesiastical, and more free from any cabal or intrigue than ours had. But their projects did not succeed, because the disorderly way of living of Cardinal John Charles of Medici, and of Cardinal Trivulzio, who were properly the souls of their factions, gave more lustre to the exemplary piety of Cardinal Barberini, than they were able by their artifices to remove. Cardinal Cesi, a pensionary of Spain, and the greatest ape in every respect that I ever knew, was telling me one day very wittily on that occasion: "You will beat us at last, by reason of the discredit we bring upon ourselves, by assuming the appearance of godly persons: *Hypocrisy may sometimes deceive, but it cannot do it long when able persons undertake to unmask it.*" Their faction lost in a little time the *concetto*, as they call it there, of being well-meaning men, and we soon gained that reputation, because the truth was that Sachetti, who was beloved for his mildness, passed for a man of right and good intentions; and because the regard which those of the house of Medici were obliged to shew for Cardinal Capponi, though at the bottom they would not have been willing to have had him for pope, gave us room to make the publick believe that they would instal in St. Peter's chair the Fox (for so Cardinal Capponi was called, because he passed for a cheat). These dispositions, to which might be added many others of too long a discussion, made those of the Spanish faction perceive that they were losing ground, and though that discovery went not so far as to make them believe that we had it in our thoughts to make a pope without their participation, it was however great enough to make them apprehend that their faction being made up of many old men, and ours of many young ones, we might easily have the benefit of time on our side. We intercepted a letter of the Spanish ambassador's to Cardinal

Sforza, which shewed that fear in express terms, and we even perceived by the air of that letter, more than by the words, that the ambassador was not very well pleased with the conduct of those of the faction of Medici. It was Monsignor Febey, if I am not mistaken, who intercepted that letter. This seed was cultivated with a great deal of care as soon as it was perceived to spring up, and the squadron, who by means of Borromeo, a Milanese, and of Aquaviva, a Neapolitan, preserved a great regard for the ambassador of Spain, did not omit to insinuate to him that the service of the king his master, as well as his own private interest, required of him that he should not trust the Florentines so much as to subject to their maxims and to their caprices, the conduct of a crown which all the world respected.

This worked insensibly, and produced its effect at last. I have already told you that the faction of France joined heartily with us in favour of Sachetti. The difference was that they gave into it blindly, thinking that they might succeed, and that what we did was almost with a certain assurance that it would not do; so that those of the French faction took no hypothetical measures, if I may use that expression; that is, they did not form any other scheme in case that of Sachetti should fail. Ours being founded upon the supposition of which I have spoken, which we counted almost as certain, we applied ourselves beforehand to weaken the French faction, against the time that we judged that it might turn against us. I opened a way by chance of the Cardinal John Charles of bringing over to him Cardinal Orsini, the doing of which cost him but little. In this manner, at the time that the Spanish faction was wholly bent against Sachetti, and the French for him, we were at work upon a project of which either of them little thought, which was to divide that of Spain, and to weaken that of France. The advantage of finding oneself in a condition to act in this manner is great, but is seldom to be met with. It required just such a concurrence of circumstances as that that happened in this conjuncture; and which perhaps would not happen again in ten thousand years. We had Chigi in our view, and we could not come at him but by using our utmost endeavours in favour of Sachetti, though without any probable hopes of success in respect to this last; so that we were obliged to do out of good conduct what our promises to Barberini required of us. This advantage was not the only one; the steps we took covered our march, and our enemies shooting at random, and always where they could do us no harm, lost every one of their shots. You

shall see what success that conduct had, after I have explained to you that of Chigi, and our reasons for having him in our view.

He was a creature of Pope Innocent's, and the third in rank of the promotion of which I was first. He had been inquisitor at Malta, and nuntio at Munster, and he had gained everywhere the reputation of an integrity without blemish, and of a conduct free from his infancy from any manner of reproach. He had enough of liberal learning to make a shew of his not being quite ignorant in other sciences. His severity had an allay of mildness in it, and his maxims appeared honest. He was not very communicative, but in the little conversation he had he shewed himself more reserved and wise (*savio col silentio*) than any man I ever knew. All the outward shew of a true and solid piety, set off admirably well all these good qualities, or rather all these appearances. What gave them a body, at least a fantastick one, was what had passed at Munster between Servien and him. Servien, who was known and acknowledged to have been the destroying dæmon of the peace, had fallen out there cruelly with Contarini, ambassador of Venice, a wise and good man. Chigi signalized himself for Contarini, being conscious that it was a good way of making his court to Pope Innocent. His opposing Servien, who was the execration of the people, gained him the love of the publick, and raised him into credit. The steps he took whilst he was either at Aix-la-Chapelle, or at Brussels, at his coming back from Munster; I say the steps he took with Cardinal Mazarin pleased his holiness. Innocent called him back to Rome, and made him secretary of state and a cardinal. He was known there only by the character under which I have represented him. The pope being a sharp-sighted man, discovered quickly that Chigi was not the man he had taken him for; but this penetration of the pope's was no obstacle to Chigi's fortune, but on the contrary was a help to it; because Innocent finding himself a dying, would not condemn his own choice; and because Chigi, who for that same reason was not much afraid of a dying pope, was glad to set up in the eyes of the world for a man of an unshaken virtue, and of an inflexible rigidness. He made not his court to the Signora Olimpia, who was abhorred in Rome, and he even blamed pretty openly all that the publick disapproved in her conduct; so that all the world, which is, and will be for ever deceived in things which flatter their passions, admired his courage and his virtue, when they ought at most to have praised only his good sense, which made him sow the seeds of a future papacy, in a field where there was nothing now for him to reap.

Cardinal Azzolini, who had been secretary of the briefs at the time that the other was secretary of state, had observed in his memorials about state affairs, some sort of finesses that did not agree with the candour of which he made profession. He had acquainted me with it before the conclave began, but he had told me at the same time that he knew of no better choice, and that besides, Chigi's reputation was upon such a foot, even with those that composed the flying squadron, that whatever he could say against him would pass with them but as a sequel only of some little fallings out, which the competition of their posts had occasioned betwixt them. I made the less reflection upon what Azzolini said, because I was myself prepossessed in favour of Chigi. He had shewn a special regard for the Abbot Charrier during my imprisonment. He had made this last believe that he did in my behalf with the pope, beyond what ever could be imagined. He exclaimed with Charrier against the pope, and even with a greater shew of passion than Charrier himself, because he did not push Cardinal Mazarin vigorously enough upon my account. The Abbot Charrier had as free an access to him as any one of his domesticks, and he was persuaded that Chigi was better affected to me, and more passionate for my interest, than I was myself. I had no reason to suspect anything to the contrary during the whole conclave. I was seated immediately above him at the scrutiny, and I had an opportunity of conferring with him so long as the scrutiny lasted. I believe that that was the reason which made him affect to have an ear for nobody but for me, as to what related to his promotion to the chair. His answer to some of the squadron, who were discovering their designs to him, was so full of disinterestedness, that they were much edified at it. He was seen neither at the windows where the cardinals used to take the air, nor in the corridors where they walk together. He kept all along shut up in his cell, where he would even receive no visits. He could not forbear hearkening to the advices I sometimes gave him during the scrutiny, but he did it always in a manner so remote from any desire of the triple crown, that he always filled me with admiration, or at least he hearkened to me with such an ecclesiastical spirit, that it had been impossible for malice itself to imagine in him any other desire than that of which St. Paul speaks when he says that *qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat.* All his discourses to me were full of nothing else but of his zeal for the church, and of his regret, that they did not study enough at Rome the Scripture, the councils and tradition. He never

grew weary of hearing me speak of the maxims of our Sorbonne. Indeed as it is impossible to keep oneself so much upon the reserve, as never to discover anything of one's natural temper, he could not hide himself so well, but that I found out, that he was a man addicted to trifles, which is always a sign not only of a small genius, but even of a low mind. He was one day mentioning to me something of his studies in his younger years, and he was saying, that he used the same pen for two years together. This is insignificant in itself; but having often observed, that the least things are sometimes more distinguishing marks than the greatest, I own that I disliked what he mentioned to me. I expressed my dislike to the Abbot Charrier, who was one of my conclavists. I remember that he chid me for it, and that he called me a reprobate for not knowing how to value Christian simplicity.

In short, Chigi acted the part of a counterfeit so extremely well, that notwithstanding his meanness, which he could not hide in respect of many little things, his phisiognomy, which was low, having much the air of a physician, though he was a man of good birth; he acted, I say, his part so extremely well, that we thought that by setting him upon St. Peter's chair, we should renew in him the glory and the virtue of St. Gregory and of St. Leo. We were frustrated in our hopes as to this last point, though we succeeded in respect to his exaltation, because the Spaniards were afraid, for the reasons I have already mentioned, that the obstinacy of the young cardinals would hold out longer than that of the old; and because Barberini despaired at last of making Sachetti pope, considering the engagements and publick declarations of the Spanish faction, and that of Medici. We resolved to take hold of the opportunity, when it should offer, to insinuate to both these factions of what advantage it would be to them to think on Chigi. Borromeo was to persuade the Spaniards that they could do nothing better, considering the averseness that the French faction had for him, and I was to represent to Cardinal Barberini, that there being no candidate amongst his creatures whom he could possibly bring to the chair, the whole church would repute it as the greatest piece of merit in him, if without any interested view, he caused the choice to fall upon the most worthy candidate. We expected to find some help to our design in the disposition of some private members of the several factions, the ground of which expectation was this: Cardinal Montalte, who was of the Spanish faction, a man of small talents, but a good man, who lived high, and had the air

of a great lord, was mightily afraid that Cardinal Fiorenzola, a Dominican, and a man of a vigorous spirit, should be proposed by Cardinal Grimaldi his intimate friend, who had something odd in him, pretty much resembling Fiorenzola. We resolved to make a right use of that fear of Montalte's, to bring him by degrees to a liking of Chigi.

The old Cardinal de Medici, who was the mildest-tempered man in the world, found himself very much fatigued, both with the length of the conclave and with the impetuosity of the Cardinal John Charles, his nephew, who would not, sometimes, spare his own uncle. I was upon very good terms with the old man, and so much as sometimes to occasion jealousy in the Cardinal John Charles. What had chiefly procured me the old cardinal's friendship was his natural candour, which had caused him to be pleased with my manner of proceeding with him. I made it my business besides to honour him publickly, and I even paid him my respects very carefully. This attachment had not prevented me however from explaining myself clearly with him about my ingagements with Cardinal Barberini, and with the flying squadron. He had been pleased with my sincerity, which proved, by the event, more useful to me than artifice. I managed the old man with a great deal of care, and I judged that I should quickly be in a condition to dispose him by degrees to a reconciliation with Cardinal Barberini, who was at odds with all his house, and to look upon Cardinal Chigi as on a man not so dangerous as he had been represented to him.

You see by this, that we were not idle in respect to the factions of Spain and of Tuscany, though neither of these factions suspected anything of our doings, because it was not yet time to discover ourselves. The attention of the squadron was not less, in respect to France, whose opposition to Chigi was still more publick and more declared than that of the others. M. de Lionne, nephew to Servien, spoke of Chigi to anybody that would but hear him, as of a pedant, whom he did not so much as suppose anyway likely to stand as a candidate. Cardinal Grimaldi, who in the time of their prelacy had had some kind of misunderstanding with him, said publickly that his merit was but imaginary. It was impossible but that the Cardinal d'Este should be afraid, as brother of the Duke of Modena, of the exaltation of a cardinal who was disinterested and firm, which are the two qualities that the princes of Italy are altogether afraid of in a pope. I have already told you that something personal had happened in Germany, between Chigi and Cardinal

Mazarin, and all these considerations joined together, made us judge that it was necessary to reconcile matters, as much as possible, with the French faction, who, though weak, might possibly be an obstacle to us. I say, though weak, because it is certain that the French faction made not a figure considerable enough in that conclave to hinder us from pretending, as we did in effect pretend, that we had it in our power to make a pope in spite of them. Not that that faction wanted men, and even men of capacity. Este, who was protector of France, supplied by his quality, by his high living, and by his courage, what his natural darkness and the ambiguity of his expressions took off from the regard that was otherwise due to him. Grimaldi joined to the reputation he had all along preserved, of being a man of vigour, a superiority of air, opposed to the servile manners of the other cardinals of his faction, which gave him a reputation above the others. Bichi, an able man, and extremely well practised in business, ought naturally to hold a great post among those of that faction. Cardinal Antonio shone by his liberality, and Cardinal Orsini by his name.

One would think that that was enough to preserve that faction from being contemptible, and yet it was very near being contemned, because the advantages which I have mentioned, were unhappily mixed with defects that spoiled the rest. Grimaldi, who hated Mazarin as much as he was hated by him, acted hardly at all, and was prevented the more from acting, because he believed, and that truly enough, that M. de Lionne, who had the secret of the French court, would not intrust him with it. Este, who notwithstanding his courage, trembled because the Marquis de Caracena entered just at that time into the territory of Modena with the whole forces of the Milanese, was prevented for that reason, from doing all that he might have done against Spain. I have already told you that Cardinal John Charles of Medici had, in some measure, brought Orsini over to him. Cardinal Antonio had neither activity nor parts, and besides it was hardly doubted but that Cardinal Barberini his brother, who was upon a very ill foot at the court of France, would win him at last. M. de Lionne could not, for that reason, confide intirely in Cardinal Antonio, because he was not sure that Cardinal Barberini, who had hitherto been for Sachetti who was agreeable to France, would not change for some other that might be disagreeable to that court; and that same reason lessened likewise in a great measure M. de Lionne's confidence for the Cardinal d'Este, because Lionne knew that Este preserved a

great regard for Cardinal Barberini, both by reason of the long friendship they had had together, and by reason of the Dutchess of Modena, who was Barberini's niece. Bichi was not a man after Mazarin's heart, because Mazarin thought him too cunning, and besides, very ill affected to him, as it was true.

This detail will, I suppose, prevent your being surprized that the faction of a crown which was both powerful and in happy circumstances, was not so much regarded as it ought to have been in that conjuncture. You will still be the less surprized at it, when you are pleased to consider the man to whom the secret of the French affairs was intrusted, and who had the government of a machine so very much out of order. Lionne was known in Rome only as an under-secretary to Cardinal Mazarin. He had been seen at that place during the ministry of Cardinal Richlieu, as a private man, and in a mean state enough, and besides as a gamester, and as one that publickly kept a concubine. He had indeed had some sort of post in Italy relating to the affairs of Parma, but not considerable enough to expect that he should jump at once from that, to the post he had now at Rome; neither was he a man well enough practised in affairs to intrust into his hands the direction of a conclave, which of all affairs is certainly the most arduous. I know that it is common enough to states that are in a prosperous condition to commit such faults, because the incapacity of those they employ, is often supplied by the respect that is shewn to the master that sends them. Never state relied more on that respect than France did at the time of Cardinal Mazarin. That minister however experienced on this occasion, that the doing so is not always a sure game. M. de Lionne had neither respect enough paid him, nor the capacity required to keep in a due equilibrium the several springs of a machine so ill set together. It was not long before we discovered it, and we made an advantagious use of it in respect to our design.

I ought to have acquainted you before, that having been informed that Lionne had disobliged Cardinal Orsini about an arrear of pension, which amounted only to one thousand crowns, I gave notice of it timely enough to Cardinal John Charles de Medici, to give him an opportunity of winning Orsini, which he did at so cheap a rate, that for the honour of the purple I believe that I shall do better not to mention the particulars. The sequel will shew you that we made still a better use of the evil disposition of Cardinal Bichi against Lionne, to divide the French faction, and to break its measures still more than before. But

as that faction was not that of which we were the most afraid, though it was that which opposed us most, we advanced our work in respect to it, in proportion only to the progress we made in respect to the two others, from whence we expected, and with good reason, to meet with more difficulties. I have already told you the reasons we had to believe that the two factions, of Spain and of Medici, would be brought to approve of Chigi but with great difficulty, and you have likewise already seen the management we used to cure, by degrees, and even imperceptibly, their evil dispositions. Our hardest task was to act in this imperceptible manner, which was a thing however altogether necessary; for if Barberini had perceived in the least, that we had Chigi in view, we had infallibly lost him, because, with all the virtue imaginable, he is capricious to the last degree, and nothing could ever have prevented his fancying that we had a design to deceive him in respect to Sachetti. It was properly on this occasion that I admired the sincerity, the foresight, the activity, and the penetration of those that composed the flying squadron, and of Azzolini chiefly, who was the man that stirred the most in this affair. There was not one step taken, in relation to Barberini and Sachetti, which might not have been approved of by the most rigid men in their morals. As it was clearly perceived that all that could be done for Sachetti, would, by the event, prove ineffectual, the squadron omitted not one step that was thought necessary to remove the evil dispositions which they foresaw they should find on the part of France, of Spain, and of Florence, and even on the part of Barberini, about the exaltation of Chigi, when that matter was in a disposition fit to be proposed. As there was not the least room to doubt, that if Barberini perceived anything of our design, he would immediately distrust us, we covered our march with so great an attention, and with so much good fortune, that he discovered it only by our means, when we thought it necessary for us that he should know it.

The greatest impediment we had to surmount was, that having to rely on him as our chief support, we were obliged as a thing previous to all, to go about removing the obstacles which we foresaw would be very great from the whole faction of his late uncle Pope Urban. We knew that the only and daily application of the old cardinals of that faction, who saw, as well as we, the impossibility of making Sachetti pope, was to insinuate to Barberini, that it would be extremely shameful to him that a pope should be chosen who was not one of his creatures. The whole faction conspired to persuade him of the same thing, every

one of them conceiving some hopes of being the chosen man. Ginetti made no doubt but that his constant attachment from the beginning to the family of the Barberinis, ought to give him the right of preference: Cecchini was persuaded that it was due to his merit: Rapaccioli, who was but one and forty years old, or but little more, for I do not remember it precisely, fancied however, that his piety, his capacity, and his want of health, might raise him up to the papacy, even with ease. Fiorenzola suffered himself to be flattered by the imaginations of Grimaldi, it being natural to give an easy belief to what one desires. It is impossible for those who have never seen a conclave, to imagine the illusions of men, in relation to the papacy, which is rightly called *rabbia papale*. That illusion however was a thing very likely to make us fail in our attempt, because the clamours of the whole faction of Pope Urban were very likely to make Barberini afraid of losing all his creatures in a moment, if he chose a pope that was not one of that faction. That inconveniency, as you see, was very great, but we found a remedy in the very place from whence we expected the evil should come; for the jealousy that reigned among them, obliged them to take betimes such measures one against another, as incensed Barberini, because they wanted the discretion which we had used in keeping our sentiments hid in respect to the impossibility of Sachetti's exaltation. Barberini thought that they were willing to believe that exaltation impossible, that they might advance their own interest. From that time he looked upon them as upon a pack of ambitious and ungrateful men; and that disposition of mind was the cause that when he came himself to be persuaded that it was impossible to make Sachetti pope, he resolved the more easily upon setting his faction aside, being willing to persuade himself that he should run a less risk of losing his creatures, by giving them to understand that he was carried into another faction by his allies, than by incensing his whole faction against him, for the preference he must give to one of them over all the rest. For as to their yielding unanimously to Sachetti, they did it in favour of his old age and of his manners, which indeed were very amiable. Not but that in my opinion, it would have been with him as with Galba, who would have been thought worthy of the empire, if he had not been made emperor. But however matters stood not on that foot. Barberini's creatures were indeed induced to favour Sachetti for that reason; but not thinking his exaltation possible, their deference for him served only to increase the

cruel jealousy they had conceived beforehand one against another.

Old Cardinal Spada, a man well versed in affairs, but whom affairs had corrupted, declared against Rapaccioli so far as to write a libel against him, wherein he accused him of having believed that the devil might be received to mercy. Montalte said publickly that he had sufficient causes to oppose in form Fiorenzola's exaltation. Fiorenzola on his side made a pleasant description enough of the fine diversions which la Signora Basti, a niece of Cecchini's, handsome and a coquet, would give the publick at the time of the carnival, if her uncle was chosen pope. All these piques and fooleries, which, to say the truth, were unworthy of a conclave, displeased Barberini to the last degree, he being a pious and grave man; and were no obstacles to our designs, as you will presently see.

I think I have told you, that this conclave lasted about eighty days, two-thirds of which were spent in the manner I have already told you, because Cardinal Barberini could not get it out of his head but that our obstinacy would at last carry it in favour of Sachetti. We were less able to undeceive him than anybody, for the reasons which I have mentioned; and I do not know whether the thing had not been carried still much farther, if Sachetti, who grew weary to see himself bemused by their ballotting four times a day, without any prospect of success for him, had not himself opened Barberini's eyes. It was not however without a great deal of pain; but he succeeded at last; and after we had observed all manner of precautions, to prevent his suspecting in the least that we had any share in that step of Sachetti's, as it was true that we had not, we entered into a discussion with him of the cardinals of his faction, and of the possibility of raising one to the chair.

We perceived at first that he was himself very much imbarrassed at it, and not without good reason. We were not sorry to find him imbarrassed, because that gave us room to mention cardinals of other factions, and to fall insensibly upon Cardinal Chigi. Cardinal Barberini, who from his youth has been a passionate lover of piety, and who admired much that which he thought Chigi had, yielded to him pretty easily, with this only scruple, that Chigi, who was a great friend to the Jesuits, might probably strike at the doctrine of St. Augustine, which Cardinal Barberini had a greater respect for than knowledge of. I was charged to enquire exactly about that matter with Chigi himself, and I acquitted myself of my commission in

a manner which hurt neither my duty, nor the tenderness of conscience of Chigi. That cardinal in the long conversations I had with him, during the time of the scrutinies, having penetrated me easily enough, because I had no reserve for him; he had discovered that I did not approve of people's infatuation in respect to persons, and that in my opinion, truth only deserved to be examined to be approved of. He seemed to espouse the same sentiments, and he gave me room to believe that his maxims made him altogether a fit man for restoring peace to the church. He explained himself upon that subject, publickly and reasonably enough; for Cardinal Albrizzi, a pensionary of the Jesuits, having exclaimed, even indecently, against St. Augustine, whom he accused of carrying things to extremes, Chigi took him up vigorously, and spoke according to the respect due to that great supporter of grace. This adventure served much more than all that I had said to remove intirely Barberini's scruple. As soon as we saw him determined, we began to make use of the materials which we had only hitherto been preparing. Every one of us performed the task that was set him. We began to explain what we had hitherto either kept carefully hid, or had at least only insinuated. Borromeo and Aquaviva disclosed themselves more fully to the Spanish ambassador. Azzolini had a greater liberty allowed him of shewing his parts with the several factions. I spoke fully and with all the vigour I could to the dean of the sacred college, who intrusted me with his desire of appeasing the grand duke in favour of the Barberini; and Cardinal Barberini kept not hid from me the joy that that gave him. Azzolini or Lomelini, I do not precisely remember which, discovered that Bichi, who was allied to Chigi, was at the bottom extremely well disposed for him. Bichi acted in his favour with a great deal of address, as well as prudence; for believing that Mazarin would not confide enough in him, to concur, upon what he should write, to Chigi's exaltation, he made use of Sachetti to persuade him, who being tired, as I have said, of having been so long deceived, dispatched an express to Mazarin, to give him notice that Chigi would be pope in spite of France, if that crown offered to give him the exclusion, as the report went. It is certain that as soon as Chigi was put up for candidate, all the Frenchmen in Rome said publicly, according to the style used by those of that nation, that their king would never suffer it. Mazarin was of another mind, for by the same express he sent an order to Lionne, not to exclude him. He was in the right; for I am persuaded that if the exclusion had come,

Chigi had been pope three days sooner than he was. It is never prudent for crowns to venture too easily on these exclusions. There are some conclaves where the thing may succeed, but there are others where the success is impossible. The conclave I am speaking of was of this number: the sacred college was not only strong, but the members were conscious of their own strength.

Things being in the condition which I have mentioned, the Cardinals de Medici and Barberini sent me about nine at night to carry the news to Cardinal Chigi. I found him in bed, and I approached to kiss his hands. He understood what my errand was, and imbracing me he said, "*Ecco l'effetto de la buona vicinanza.*"[1] I have already told you that I sat near him during the time of the scrutiny. All the cardinals came running to him afterwards. He sent for me again that same night about eleven, after he was left alone, and I cannot express to you how kindly he treated me. We went in a body the next day to take him out of his cell, and we carried him to the chappel where the scrutiny is made, where he had, if I am not mistaken, all the votes for him, except one, or at most two. The suspicion fell upon old Spada, Grimaldi, and Rosetti, because they were the only ones that disapproved, at least publickly, of his exaltation. Grimaldi himself told me that I had made a choice which I should repent of as to my own self; and the event justified what he had told me. I attributed these words to the oddness of his temper, as I did Spada's dislike to his envious temper, and that of Rosetti to the fear he had of Chigi's severity.

I am still persuaded that I was not mistaken in my judgment, though I must confess that at the bottom they were likewise in the right. What is most certain is, that there never was any election of a pope more universally applauded. The new pope acted his part extremely well in these first moments, in which by an odd kind of defect to which most men are subject, those that are expecting that dignity with the greatest impatience, appear the most surprized when it comes. What followed after his election shewed that his probity was not great enough to stifle his ardent desire for the papal chair. He was so far however from giving any demonstrations of his having been impatient, that we had room to believe that he was rather sorry for it. He wept bitterly whilst the scrutiny, by which he was elected pope, was reading over again; and finding that I was observing of it, he imbraced me with one arm, and Lomelini who was seated below him with the other; and he said to us, "Forgive this

[1] This is an effect of your good proximity.

weakness to a man who has always loved his relations tenderly, and who finds himself parted for ever from them." After the usual ceremony, we went down to St. Peter's Church, where he affected to sit only at a corner of the altar, though the masters of the ceremonies told him that the custom for popes was to sit just in the middle of it. He received there the adoration of the sacred college with much more modesty than grandeur, and more dejection than joy. When my turn came to kiss his feet, he embraced me, and said to me with so loud a voice that the ambassadors of Spain and of Venice, as well as the Constable Colonna heard him: "Signor Cardinal de Retz, *Ecce opus manuum tuarum*." You may judge of the effect which these words produced. The ambassadors told it to those that were near them, and in an instant it was spread all over the church. Morangis, brother to Barillon, meeting me an hour after regaled me with it; and I went back to my house accompanied by above six score coaches full of persons altogether persuaded that I was going to govern St. Peter's barque. I remember that Barillon whispered these words into my ears, "I am resolved to count the number of coaches, that I may this evening give an account of it to M. de Lionne; we must not deprive the cuckold of this regale."

I have promised you some episodes, in which I will be as good as my word. You have already seen that the French faction had received orders from the king not only to forbear having any communication with me, but even to forbear saluting me. The Cardinal d'Este carefully avoided meeting me, and when it was not in his power to do, he either turned his head another way, or he feigned to take up his handkerchief, or he affected to speak to some of those he had with him. In short, as he always affected to appear an ecclesiastick, he affected likewise, in my opinion, to shew that, upon such an occasion, a conduct that went even against the appearances of Christian charity was unpleasant to him. Cardinal Antonio saluted me always very civilly when nobody observed him, but being very cringing to the court, and a timorous man besides, he acted in publick according to his direction. Orsini, who was the man in the world of the vilest soul, braved me everywhere equally. Bichi always saluted me civilly, and Grimaldi observed the king's orders no otherwise than in not visiting me, for he even spoke to me, and always very civilly, when we met by chance. These particulars will I doubt appear trifling to you, but my reason for not omitting them is because they are in my opinion a true and very natural

image of the base politicks of courtiers, each of them having his particular rule whereby he winds them up or lowers them to his own pitch, in which rule they shew a greater regard by much to their own inclination than to their true interest.

Conformably to that maxim, all the cardinals of the French faction used me differently during the conclave, though they all spoke of me alike in their letters to the court of France. I have since made an application of that example to a thousand others. As to my behaviour in respect to them, it was as civil as if they had used me in a civil manner. From as far as they could perceive me when we met, I held always my cap in my hands, and my civility to them was even carried to humility. I told everybody that I paid them this respect, not only as being my brothers, but as being likewise attached to the king my master. My language in this was like that of a Frenchman, of a Christian, and of an ecclesiastick. Orsini having one day braved me in so publick a manner that it shocked everybody, I redoubled my civilities to him to a point that pleased everybody. What happened to me the next day helped to set off that modesty, or rather that affectation of modesty. Cardinal John Charles de Medici, who was naturally impetuous, stood up against me, for being, as he said, too much united with the squadron. I answered him with all the regard I owed to his person and his house. This did not prevent his growing warm, and his telling me that I ought to remember the obligations which my family had to his house, to which I answered, that I should never forget them, and that the Cardinal de Medici, dean of the sacred college, was altogether persuaded of it, as was likewise the great duke. "But I am not persuaded of it," said he in a heat: "have you forgot that if it had not been for Queen Catherine of Medici, you would be now but a private gentleman of Florence?" "Sir," replied I in the presence of twelve cardinals, "I must beg your pardon, and to convince you that I am not at all ignorant of the rank which I should hold at Florence, if I was there upon the foot of my birth, I should be there as much above you, as my predecessors were above yours 400 years ago." Having said this I turned to the company, and said, "You see, my lords, how easy it is for French blood to ferment against the Spanish faction." The great duke and the cardinal dean were both so kind as not to resent these words; and the Marquis Riccardi, ambassador to the first, told me, after the conclave was ended, that for his part he was pleased at them, and that he had blamed the Cardinal John Charles.

There happened another scene some days after, which was lucky enough for me. The Duke de Terra-Nova, the Spanish ambassador, presented a memorial to the sacred college, about something which I have forgot, in which he styled the king his master eldest son of the church. As the secretary of the college was reading it, I took notice of that expression, which I believe was not observed by the cardinals of the French faction, or at least was not complained of by them. I allowed them time enough to have done it, being unwilling to shew either any precipitation, or affectation. But finding that not one of them offered to say anything, I rose from my seat, and advancing towards the cardinal dean, I opposed in form the article of the memorial, in which his Catholick majesty was styled eldest son of the church. I asked for an act of my opposition, which was granted me in due form, being signed by four masters of ceremonies. Cardinal Mazarin was so kind as to tell the king and the queen-mother, at the queen's circle, that this was an invention of mine, concerted with the Spanish ambassador, to give me the credit of it in France. It never becomes a minister to be an impostor, but it is even impolitick in him to carry his impostures beyond all probability.

Now I am upon conclaves, I cannot leave this subject without giving you a description that may give you a knowledge of them, and correct the idea which without doubt you must have formed upon common report, or perhaps upon reading some fabulous relations which have been written about them. And even what I have been writing to you of this conclave of Alexander VII. may have proved a further help for keeping you in your error, because I have spoken of murmurs, of complaints and of little passions, which as I think ought to be set in their true light. It is certain that there were more of these murmurings, of these complaints, and of these passions, in this conclave than in any other at which I have been present. But it is not less certain that excepting what passed between Cardinal John Charles and me, of which I have given you an account, a much slighter reproof which that cardinal drew upon him from Cardinal Imperiali, for pressing him over much, and the libel of Spada against Rapaccioli; there was not in these murmurs, in these complaints, and in these little seeming passions, not only the least particle of hatred but even of evil disposition. We lived all the while with one another, upon the same terms of respect and civility that is observed in the cabinets of princes; with the same politeness that rendered the court of Henry III. remark-

able; with the same familiarity that is used among the members of the same college; with the same modesty observed by novices during their probation time; and with the same love, at least in outward appearance, that ought to reign amongst well united brothers. I do not at all magnify the matter; and I say even less about it than what I have seen in other conclaves in which I have been. I cannot better express my thoughts upon this subject than by saying that even in this conclave of Alexander VII. which the impetuosity of Cardinal John Charles de Medici heated, or rather disordered a little, the answer which I made him was excused for no other reason but because he was not a man beloved; that that of Imperiali was disapproved of; and that Spada's libel was looked upon with detestation, and was disowned by him the very next day, because everybody cried shame upon him. I may truly say that in all the conclaves at which I have assisted, I never saw one cardinal, nor one conclavist, fall into a passion, and that I have even seen very few of them warmed. It is very rare to hear there any loud voice, or to see anybody's countenance altered. I have often tried whether I could observe any such alteration in the countenance of those that had been just excluded, and I may say with sincerity, that excepting one time, I could never discover any. They are even there so far from suspecting anything like those sorts of revenges, which common error charges the Italians with, that it is pretty common for the cardinal elected to drink at his dinner wine sent him in the morning by the excluded cardinal. In short, I dare maintain that there is nothing wiser or greater than the outward appearance commonly observed in a conclave. I am not ignorant that the form practised there since Pope Gregory's bull, contributes much to regulate it; but it must be confessed that none but the Italians are capable of observing that rule with the decency they do. I return to my narration.

You will easily believe that I did not fail, during the time that the conclave lasted, to advise with Cardinal Chigi and my friends of the squadron, in respect to the conduct which I was to follow after the conclave was ended. I foresaw that I should meet with many difficulties, both on the side of Rome and on that of France, and my first conversations with my friends convinced me that I was not mistaken. I will begin with those which I met on the side of Rome, and which I will mention at once that I may not interrupt the thread of my discourse; intending to explain my conduct in respect to Italy, before I mention the

steps I took in respect to France. My friends there, who under stood little of the manners of Italy, and who (according to th nature of our country, which is to think that all others are t conform to our own manners) thought that a cardinal that wa persecuted might and even ought to live at Rome in som measure like a private man, were telling me in all their letter that decency required that I should keep in the house of th fathers of the mission, where I had indeed taken an apartmen seven or eight days after my coming to Rome. They wer adding how necessary it was that I should live frugally, both upo account of my revenues, which being seized upon in France in very extraordinary and rigorous manner, deprived me of th means of making even a middling figure; and because that tha modest way of living would work admirably upon the mind of the clergy of Paris, whom I should stand in great need o afterwards. I mentioned this to Cardinal Chigi, who passe for the greatest ecclesiastick on that side the Alps, and I wa very much surprized when he said to me:

"No, sir, no; when you are settled in your archbishoprick you may live after what manner you please, because peopl there will know what you are or what you are not able to do You are now at Rome, where your enemies are every day sayin that your credit is lost in France, the falsity of which it is neces sary for you to shew. You are not an hermit, but a cardina and one of a rank which is called here *Dei Cardinaloni*. Modest is perhaps more valued here than anywhere else; but in a ma of your age, of your birth, and of your rank, modesty ought t be tempered. It ought besides to appear so much an act of you choice, that the least suspicion of its being forced would spo it quite. There are a great many in Rome who love to trampl upon those whom they see creeping. Do not fall so low as tha dear sir, and consider I beseech you what figure you will mak in the streets with the six footmen you speak of, when you mee with a sorry citizen of Paris, who instead of paying you the leas respect, will brave you to make his court to the Cardinal d'Est You ought not to have come to Rome, except you had foun yourself resolved and enabled to support your dignity. Christia humility does not consist in disgracing it, and all I can say i that poor Cardinal Chigi, who is now speaking to you, who ha but five thousand crowns a year revenue, and who is reckone one of the poorest cardinals, even of those that are monk cannot assist at any congregation, without four coaches wit

liveries for his equipage, though he is sure that he will meet with nobody in the streets of Rome that will be wanting to the respect due to his rank."

This is but part of what Cardinal Chigi was telling me every day; and what my other friends, who were not, or at least who appeared not such zealous ecclesiasticks as he, inlarged upon still much more. Cardinal Barberini exclaimed still more than the rest against this project of retrenching my expences. He offered me his purse, but being unwilling to make use of it, and even to be a charge to my relations and my friends in France, I found myself in a great trouble, and so much the greater because I saw these last very much disposed to believe that a great expence was in no manner necessary to me at Rome. I have hardly found myself during my whole life in any circumstance more vexatious to me than that was, and I may truly say that I remember but one, where I needed more to make a terrible effort on myself to prevent my acting in the manner I should have wished. If I had followed my own inclination I would have reduced myself to two footmen. But I gave way to necessity, when I became convinced that I should infallibly fall into contempt if I did not appear with some dignity. I looked out for a palace to live in: I gathered together all my attendants, which were in great number; I got liveries made that were modest, but for no less than eighty persons, and I kept withal a great table. The Abbots of Courtenay and of Sévigné came to me at Rome, as did likewise Campi, who had commanded the Italian regiment of Cardinal Mazarin, but who had since attached himself to me; in short, I saw all my former domesticks come flocking thither to rejoin me. My expence was great during the conclave, and greater after the conclave was done. But it was necessary, and the event shewed that the advice of my friends in Italy was better grounded than that of my friends in France. For the Cardinal d'Este having injoined in the king's name, the very next day after the pope's election, all the French that were at Rome to forbear stopping before me in the streets, and even having forbid the superiors of the French churches to receive me; I had fallen into a great ridicule, if I had not been in a condition to make my dignity respected. You will be fully convinced of the truth of what I say, by the answer the pope made me, when I intreated him to prescribe to me in what manner he desired that I should behave myself in respect to the orders given out by the Cardinal d'Este. I will mention

that answer, after I have given you an account of the first steps the pope took after his creation.

He caused the next day his coffin to be laid under his bed; the day after he gave particular habits to the trainbearers of the cardinals; the third day he forbad the cardinals to wear any personal mourning, even for their fathers. This was enough to convince me (and I told it even to Azzolini, who owned it) that we had been deceived, and that the pope would never be but a poor sort of a man. The Cavalier Bernini, who is a man of good sense, observed two or three days after, that the pope had taken notice, in a statue which he was shewing him, only of a little fringe that was at the bottom of the gown. These observations seem slight; but they are certain. Great men may have great weaknesses, and are not even exempt from all small ones but there are some sort of weaknesses of which they are not capable; and I have never seen a great man, for example, begin his entrance into a great imployment with trifling matters. Azzolini, who made the same observations as I, advised me not to lose one moment in ingaging Rome to protect me, by granting me the pallium [1] of the archbishoprick of Paris. I asked it in the first consistory, before anybody had even the least thought that I intended the asking of it. The pope gave it me naturally and without reflecting upon what he did. The thing was regular, and he could not have refused it, without violating the rules of the church; but you will see by what followed, that he was not governed by these rules. This step made me believe that he would make no difficulty to suffer that I should at least be treated at Rome as a cardinal. I made therefore my complaint to him about the order given by the Cardinal d'Est

[1] The pallium is a pontifical ornament peculiar to popes, patriarchs primates, and metropolitans, which they wear over their pontifical habit as a mark of their jurisdiction. It is made of white wool, shorn from two lambs, which some nuns of the Order of St. Agnes offer every year, the day of the festival of that saint, whilst the *Agnus Dei* is singing at Mass These lambs are received by two canons of the Church of St. John of Lateran, who put them into the hands of the apostolick sub-deacons. These take care to feed them, and to sheer them in the proper season, and of them only belongs the making of these palliums, which they afterward lay on the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, at the great altar of the church, upon which they say prayers all night, as it is expressed in the Roman ceremonial. The pope only has now the right of granting the pallium; and a metropolitan, before his receiving it, cannot consecrate bishops, dedicate churches, be called archbishop, etc. See Furetière's *Dictionary* at the word pallium, where you have more about it. And see what Pasquier says of the hurt which it was like to have done to the liberty of the Gallican Church, at its first being sent into France; in the seventh chapter of the third book of his *Recherches de la France.*

to all the Frenchmen in that city, representing that that cardinal was not satisfied with acting in Rome like a sovereign, by degrading me from all temporal honours; but that he likewise acted like the pope himself, by interdicting me the French churches. I had matter enough to inlarge upon, which you may be sure I did.

The pope, to whom M. de Lionne had made his complaints about his granting me the pallium, and to whom he had spoken with an air, and in a tone which expressed his insolence; the pope, I say, appeared to me very much imbarrassed. He spoke a great deal against the Cardinal d'Este; he deplored the sad custom (that was the expression he used) which had subjected rather than attached cardinals to crowns, so far as to have formed amongst themselves a scandalous schism. He inlarged much upon that point; but I had but a bad opinion of my affair, when I saw him dwell so long upon generals without entring into particulars, and I soon perceived that my fear was well grounded, when I heard him, after many circumlocutions, explain himself in this manner:

"The politicks of my predecessors have not left me so much elbow room as my good intentions deserve. I confess that it is a shame to the sacred college, and even to the holy see, to suffer the licentiousness, which the Cardinal d'Este, or rather Cardinal Mazarin, take on this occasion. But the Spaniards had a quarrel almost like this concerning Cardinal Barberini in the last pope's time. And even in the time of Pope Paul V., the Marshal d'Estrées did not use Cardinal Borghese much better. These examples should not at another time authorize the evil, which I should then be fully able to redress. But you must consider that Christendom is all in a fire, which none but Pope Alexander is able to extinguish; and that he is obliged for that reason on many occasions to shut his eyes, for fear of disabling himself from serving the publick in so necessary a work as that of a general peace. What will you say when I tell you what Lionne has declared insolently to me, three days since, upon my giving you the pallium? That France would give me no share in the treaty which is talked of, and which is not so remote as people think. What I am saying does not mean that I intend to abandon you; but it is only to convince you that I ought to behave myself with a great deal of circumspection; and that it is proper that you should help me: in short that we ought both of us to give way to time."

If my design had been to make my court to his holiness, I should have retired after this discourse, which was, as you see only a prelude for refusing to answer me in a direct manner But as I wanted, and even quickly, that direct answer, because I might find myself at every instant in the trouble which I would avoid, I thought that it was best for me to bring the pope to explain himself; and I took the liberty to represent to him with a profound respect, that perhaps at my parting from his holiness I should meet in the street the Cardinal d'Este, who being but a cardinal deacon ought to stop before me; and that I should infallibly meet with Frenchmen, Rome being filled with them that I intreated him therefore to give me his orders, which would prevent my committing any fault, and for want of which I should be put to a nonplus; that if I should suffer that ceremonial orders due to cardinals were refused me, I was afraid that the sacred college would not approve of my conduct; that if I put myself in a condition to have it paid me, I was afraid to be wanting to the respect which I owed his holiness, to whom alone it belonged to determine of what concerned cardinals; that I therefore most humbly intreated him to prescribe to me exactly what I was to do, assuring him, that I would without the least difficulty execute whatever he would please to order, because I should think it as glorious to me to submit to his commands, as I should think it shameful to give way to those of the Cardinal d'Este.

It was on this occasion that I discovered for the first time the true nature of Pope Alexander, which was to make use of finesses in everything. That defect is great, and is so much the more so, when it is to be met with in men possessed with great dignities, because they are never reclaimed from it; the respect which is borne them, and which affords no room to any complaints, being the cause that they remain almost always persuaded that they blind the eyes of everybody, even when there is not one soul but what perceives their finesses. The pope, who with a view of justifying what he did, or rather of ceasing to have anything more to do with my conduct, either in respect to France or to the sacred college, would have been pleased that I should have contested with him upon what he had been saying took me up sharply when I spoke of submitting to his commands, saying: "No, but to those of the Cardinal d'Este, when they derive from the King of France." The tone with which this was said, and what the Marquis Riccardi, ambassador of Florence had said to me the day before, of such a turn which the pop

gave to a conversation he had lately had with him, made me judge that the pope expected that I should be taken in, and that I should go about distinguishing, what were the king's orders, and what those of the Cardinal d'Este; by which means he would have room given him, for telling M. de Lionne that he had exhorted me to submit, and for telling my brethren the cardinals, that he had only advised me to keep within the terms of respect which I owed the king. But I afforded him no room either for one or for the other, for I answered him without any hesitation, that what he proposed was just the cause of my trouble, and the thing upon which I intreated him to determine; because the name of the king appeared on one side, to which I ought to shew all manner of submission; and that I saw on the other side the authority of his holiness so much wounded, that I did not think that I ought, in my own particular, to give way to a stroke of such a nature, except at least I had an express order for it. The pope talked much and went a great way about, in order to draw me off from my demand, or rather to draw himself off from the determination I was asking for; but I remained fixed and firm to my point. He roved up and down, and diverted himself, which is always easy to those that are our superiors. He repeated several times that the King of France was a great king. At other times he told me that God was still a greater. Sometimes he inlarged upon the obligations which ecclesiasticks were in to preserve the liberties and immunities of the church; and sometimes upon the necessity there was, of managing the minds of kings in the present conjuncture. He recommended to me Christian patience, he recommended to me episcopal vigour. He blamed the ceremonial, to which the court of Rome was too much tied up; he praised the observation of it, as a thing necessary for the support of its dignity. The literal sense of all his discourse was, that let me act in what manner I pleased, I could do nothing but what he might say he had forbidden me. I pressed him to explain himself, as much as it is possible to press a man that is sitting in St. Peter's chair; but I could draw nothing out of him. I gave an account of my audience to Cardinal Barberini, and to my friends of the squadron; and I will acquaint you with the conduct they put me upon, after I have given you the particulars of a conversation which M. de Lionne had had some days before with the pope, and of what passed at that time between M. de Lionne and me.

M. de Lionne, who was but lately re-established at the French court, was touched to the quick that the pope had granted me

the pallium, because he was afraid that Cardinal Mazarin would have charged him with that action, as an effect of his negligence. The thing was done before he knew that it was to be proposed; which might prove a great crime with a man who had told Lionne at parting, that there was not one body at Rome but would willingly serve him as a spy. The fear he had of being reprimanded, obliged him to make the pope a terrible reprimand; for the manner in which he spoke to his holiness cannot be called otherwise. He declared to his face, that notwithstanding my bulls, my act of possession, and my pallium, the king did not nor would ever look upon me, as Archbishop of Paris. This was one of the softest expressions of his whole discourse, the rhetorical figures of which were filled up with menaces, of edicts of *Parlement*, of decrees of the Sorbonne, and of resolutions of the French clergy. Lionne mentioned something, but in dark words, about a schism, but he explained himself clearly and frankly about excluding the pope entirely and absolutely from the congress for a general peace, which would, as it was supposed, be very soon treated of. This last article frighted Pope Alexander to such a degree, that he asked Lionne a million of pardons, so low, and even so ridiculous, that they will not be believed by posterity. He told him, with tears in his eyes, that I had over-reached him; but that he would immediately name a congregation of cardinals that should be agreeable to the king, in order to examine what could be done towards his satisfaction; he desired for that effect that M. de Lionne would, with all manner of expedition, get a memorial drawn of all that had passed in the civil war; assuring him, that the king might depend upon it, that he would make such a quick and good example of me, as would satisfie his majesty. In short, M. de Lionne was so well pleased, and so fully satisfied with what the pope told him, that he immediately sent an express about it to Cardinal Mazarin, to whom he wrote a letter in which were the following words: "I hope, in a few days, to send your eminence a piece of news still more acceptable, which will be that of the Cardinal de Retz's imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo. The pope looks upon the amnesties granted to the rebels at Paris as insignificant, and as a thing, as he has told me, of which the Cardinal de Retz can make no use, because a none but the pope can condemn cardinals, so none but his holiness can absolve them. I have not however taken this for granted, and my answer to him has been, that the *Parlement* of Paris pretends that they may condemn cardinals, and that they would already have proceeded to the trial of the Cardinal de

Retz, if your eminence had not opposed it vigorously, moved to it purely from the respect you bear to the holy see, and to his holiness in particular. The pope, my lord, has expressed a great obligation to your eminence for it, and has charged me to assure you, that he would do the king more justice than the *Parlement* of Paris would have done." This was one of the articles of Lionne's letter.

I desire that you would observe, that the conversation I had with the pope, the particulars of which I have given you, happened but two or three days after that which he had with Lionne, and which served for a ground to the letter I just now mentioned. But supposing I had had no knowledge of that letter, I might however have easily perceived the evil disposition of the pope, of which I had not only probable, but sure evidences. Monsignor Febey, first master of the ceremonies, a wise and an honest man, and who, in concert with me, had served the pope very worthily about his exaltation, gave me notice that he found him very much changed in respect to me: "And so much," added he, "that I am scandalized at it." The pope had even told the Abbot Charrier, that he understood nothing of the pleasure he took to spread a report in Rome, as if I governed the popedom. Father Hilarion, a Bernardine, and Abbot of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem, who was one of the honestest men in the world, and with whom I had contracted a strict friendship, advised me, upon what the pope had said to the Abbot Charrier, to take a turn into the country, under pretence of taking the air, but in effect, to let his holiness see that I was very far from being a busybody at court. I followed his advice, and I went for a month or five weeks to Grotta Ferrata, which is at four leagues' distance from Rome. It was in ancient times the Tusculum of Cicero, and it is now an abbey of the Order of St. Basil, and belongs to Cardinal Barberini. The place is extremely agreeable, and by what it appears to me, I do not think it even flattered in what its ancient lord has said of it in his epistles. I was diverting myself there in what is still to be seen of some things mentioned by that great man. The columns of white marble which he caused to be brought from Greece, for his porch, support the church of the monks there, who are Italians, but who perform the offices in Greek, and who have a particular way of singing which is very fine. It was at that place that M. de Lionne's letter, of which I spoke, came to my knowledge. Croissy brought me a copy of it taken from the original. It is necessary I should explain to you who Croissy was, and that I should mention the

particulars of the intrigue which opened me a way to see that letter.

Croissy was a counsellor of the *Parlement* of Paris, who had been deeply engaged, as you have seen, in the intrigues of that time. He had been at Munster with M. d'Avaux, who sent him at that time to Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania. He had since fallen out with M. Servien about something that related to M. d'Avaux's concerns, and that quarrel, and his temper, which was naturally unquiet, carried him to signalize himself against Mazarin, as soon as the movements of his company had opened him a way to do it. The access which M. de St. Romain, his particular friend, had to the Prince of Conti, and that which M. Courtin, who has the honour to be known to you, had to Madam de Longueville, attached him, during the siege of Paris, to their interests. He followed those of the Prince of Condé, as soon as that prince had fallen out with the court; he was of great service to him during his imprisonment; he was in the secret of the negotiation, and of the treaty which the Fronde made with that prince; he remained attached to him when the Fronde fell out for the second time with his highness, after his coming out of prison, but he preserved every manner of regard for us. A few days after my being taken up, he was arrested at Paris, whither he was returned against the king's orders, and where he kept himself hid. He was brought to the Castle of Vincennes, where I was kept prisoner, and he was lodged in a chamber just over my head. We found means to have a correspondence together. He tied his letters to a thread, which he let down to one of my windows in the night time. As my custom was to study till two in the morning, I took the opportunity of my guards falling asleep, to take up his letters and to tie mine to the same thread. The advices I gave him during his trial, which was going upon with a great deal of eagerness, were not useless to him. The chancellor came twice to Vincennes to interrogate him. He was charged with holding intelligence with the Prince of Condé, even since the condemnation of that prince, and his retreat among the Spaniards. It was Croissy who had first proposed the setting a price upon Cardinal Mazarin's head, which was a circumstance not very favourable to his justification.

Though he was guilty, he came off, however, tolerably well by the assistance of the President de Bellièvre, who was one of his judges, and who told me, when he came to take me out of Vincennes, that he had given Croissy a certain sign which had set him right and saved him, in the answer he was making to one of

the chancellor's interrogatories. In short, he was prosecuted no further, and he came out of prison upon giving his word to part with his employment, and to quit either Paris or the kingdom, I do not remember which. He came to Rome, where he found me, and he took up his lodging, if I am not mistaken, with Châtillon who was his friend. They came together to see me almost every evening, not daring to come in the daytime, because of the orders given to all the French to the contrary. These two gentlemen had a particular acquaintance with little Fouquet the present Bishop of Agde, who was at Rome at that time, and who disapproved the liberty which M. de Lionne took of lying with his own wife, with whom little Fouquet was much in favour. That gentleman having in view to get for himself the post which Lionne had in Rome, was very glad besides, to put him upon acting his part ill, that he might thereby have an opportunity of disserving him at court. He thought that the best way to bring his project to pass, was to embroil and imbarrass the chief or rather the only negotiation that Lionne had there, which was that concerning me. To that effect he spoke to Croissy, whom he charged to assure me, that he would inform me punctually of every step which Lionne should take; that I should have a copy of all the cuckold's dispatches (he never called M. de Lionne otherwise) before they were sent away; that I should have likewise a copy of Mazarin's letters a quarter of an hour after the cuckold had received them; and that it was in his power to do what he promised, because he could intirely dispose of Madam de Lionne, from whom the husband kept nothing secret; that lady besides being at that time extremely incensed against him, for being passionately in love with one of her women named Agatha, who was very pretty.

This considerable advantage which I had over Lionne, was the chief cause of my not valuing, as I ought to have done, the advances which he had made me, by the means of Montrésor. It ought not to have produced that effect, and I was certainly in the wrong. Two other motives contributed to the making me commit that error. The first was the pleasure we had every evening, Croissy, Châtillon, and I, to turn the cuckold into ridicule; and I observed in this occasion, though too late, what I have since observed in others: *That one ought to be extreamly intent, in great affairs still more than in others, upon guarding oneself against the pleasure one is inclined to take in raillery.* It is a thing which amuses, tickles and flatters, and this pleasure has in many occasions cost the Prince of Condé dear. The other motive which

incensed me at first against Lionne was, that immediately after the conclave, he sent, by an express order from the court, as he has told me since at St. Germain, one la Borne, who was the officer in Rome who took care of Cardinal Mazarin's dispatches, to the palace of our Lady of Loretto, where I lodged, with a notification in form to all my domestick servants that were Frenchmen, to abandon me, upon pain of being declared guilty of high treason, as abettors to a rebel to his king, and a traitor to his country. I was incensed at those expressions. The name of the king saved the man that pronounced them from receiving some insult; but the Chevalier de Bois David, who belonged to me, and who was young and wanton, shewed him, as he was going, a pair of horns, which was a thing very well adapted to the subject. You see by this, that words spoken often engage more than actions; and this reflection has obliged me to say to myself more than once, that in great affairs the least words cannot be too nicely weighed.

I return to the letter which Croissy brought me at Grotta Ferrata. I was surprised at it, but with that kind of surprize which causes no emotion. Things incredible have always worked that effect on me. Not but that I know that what is incredible proves often true; but as it ought not to be so, according to the best rules of foresight, I could never be moved at it, because I have always looked upon those sorts of events, as upon thunderbolts, that are uncommon, but not impossible. We made however a great many reflections, Croissy, the Abbot Charrier, and I, upon that letter. I sent the Abbot to Rome to communicate the contents of it to Cardinal Azzolini, who made no great account of the pope's words, on which Lionne seemed to reckon so much. The cardinal told the Abbot Charrier, with a great deal of good sense and penetration, that he was persuaded that Lionne, whose interest it was to hide, or rather to disguise and retrieve at the court of France, his want of care about my receiving the pallium, magnified the words and promises of his holiness, "who is besides," added Azzolini, "the best man in the world at finding out expressions, the most promising, and the least significant." He advised me to return to Rome, and to set a good face upon the matter; to continue to express an entire confidence in the pope's justice and in his good-will; and to go on in the same manner I used to do, as if I knew nothing of what he had told Lionne. I believed him, and I followed his advice. I declared at my return to Rome, as my friends had advised me before my going thence, that I bore such

a respect to the king's name, that I was ready to suffer everything without exception from those who could shew the least authority from his most Christian majesty; that not only M. de Lionne, but even M. Gueffier, who was only an agent for France, might live with me in the manner they thought fit; but that I should, on all occasions, shew them all the civility that was in my power; that I would observe the same rule in regard to my brother cardinals, being persuaded that there was no reason whatever that could exempt ecclesiasticks even from all the outward duties of union and of charity that ought to be professed among them; that this rule, which was evangelical, and consequently far superior to that of the ceremonials, taught me that I ought not to examine whether they were elder or younger in rank than me; that I would stop equally before them all, without considering whether they would do the like by me, or whether they would salute me or not; that as to private men, who had no manner of authority from the king, and who should refuse to pay me the respect due to my dignity, I could not follow the same conduct with them, because it would prove a detriment to that dignity, considering the consequences which laymen would not fail to draw from it to their advantage, against the prerogatives of the church; that knowing myself however to be, both by my inclination and by my maxims, very remote from anything that carries with it the least appearance of violence, I would order my servants to offer none to the first that should be wanting to the respect he owed to my character, but only to cut the hamstrings of his coach-horses.

You will easily believe that nobody would expose themselves to receive such an affront. Most of the French stopped before me; those who chose to obey the orders of the Cardinal d'Este, carefully avoided the meeting me in the streets. The pope, to whom Cardinal Bichi had much magnified the publick declaration which I had made in relation to my conduct, mentioned it to me with a reprimand, saying that I ought not to threaten those that should obey the king's orders. As I began to be acquainted with the manners of the pope, which consisted all in cunning, I thought that my best way was to give him only such an answer as would oblige him to explain himself, which is an infallible rule of acting with men of that character. I answered, that I took it for a great obligation that he would be so kind as to honour me with his orders; that I would for the future bear with anything from any Frenchman of the lowest kind, and that it was enough for my justification with the sacred college, to

say that what I did was by his holiness's command. The pope stopped me hastily at that word, and said, "You do not take me right, my meaning is not that the respect due to a cardinal should be denied him; you go from one extreme to another. I charge you to take care not to speak after this manner in Rome."

I took hold of these words of the pope with no less eagerness than he had taken up what I was saying to him. I begged that he would forgive me if I had mistaken his meaning. I told him that I presumed that he approved in general of the conduct which I had declared that I would follow, and that he would have me only keep the right medium between the two extremes. The pope thought not fit to contradict me, getting, in some manner, his object in what had passed by reason of his ambiguous expressions. I found mine likewise in it, because I was not obliged to change my conduct. My audience ended in this manner, and at my coming out from it, I spoke mightily in commendation of his holiness to Monsignor il Maestro di Camera, who accompanied me, and who failed not to report in the evening to the pope, to which his holiness answered with a sour look, *Questi maledetti Francesi sono piu furbi di noi altri.*[1] This master of the chambers, who was Monsignor Bandinelli, and who became a cardinal afterwards, told this two days after to Father Hilarion, from whom I had it. I continued to live upon that foot, till I took a journey to the waters of St. Cassien that are in Tuscany, to try to find some relief for a new accident that had happened to my shoulder by my own fault.

I have already told you that the most famous surgeon in Rome had tried in vain to set it right, though in order to it he had put it out of joint a second time. I suffered myself to be wheedled by a country fellow who lived in Prince Borghese's territories, upon the recommendation of a gentleman of Florence of the house of Mazzinghi, who was allied to me, and who had assured me that he had seen prodigious cures performed by this quack. He put my shoulder out of joint for the third time, and he put me to intolerable pain, without bringing it to itself. The weakness which this operation left me in, obliged me to have recourse to the waters of St. Cassien, which afforded me but little relief. I came from thence to spend the rest of the summer at Caprarola, which is a very fine house at forty miles' distance from Rome, belonging to the Duke of Parma. I awaited there the *rinfrescata*, after which I returned to Rome, where I found the pope as much altered in respect to everything without exception,

[1] These cursed Frenchmen are greater cheats than we are.

as I had already found him altered in respect to me. He had nothing left of the piety he had before affected, but only his gravity which he still preferred whilst he was at church. I call it gravity, and not modesty, because a great deal of pride appeared to be joined with it. He did not only continue the abuse of nepotism, by causing all his relations to come to Rome, but he consecrated it by causing the cardinals to approve of it, having asked their advice in private, for fear of being obliged to follow one contrary to his inclination, in case any cardinal had publickly opposed it. He grew vain to a ridiculous degree, valuing himself upon his gentility, as a country squire would if his coat of arms was questioned at the herald's office. He envied everybody without exception. Cardinal Cesi used to say, that he would make him burst with anger by the continual praises he gave St. Leo. It is certain that he almost fell out with Monsignor Magalotti, because he thought that he pretended to be better versed than he in the dictionary of the academy of la Crusca. He never spoke one word of truth; and the Marquis Riccardi, ambassador from Florence, expressed himself in these words in the latter end of a letter to the great duke, which he shewed me, "*In fine, Serenissimo Signore, habbiamo un Papa chi non dice una parola di verita.*"

He was continually applying himself to trifles, and was so foolish as to promise a publick reward to the man who should find out a Latin word for a gig. He once spent seven or eight days in finding out whether *mosca* came from *musca*, or *musca* from *mosca*. Cardinal Imperiali having told me the particulars of what had passed at two or three sittings of the academy, that had been held upon that subject, I thought that he magnified the thing to divert himself, but I was undeceived the very next day, for the pope having sent for Cardinal Rapaccioli and for me, and having taken us with him in his coach, he held us for three hours long that were spent in taking the air, upon as poor trifles as the low criticism of a little schoolmaster could have produced; and Rapaccioli, who was a man of refined wit, told me, after we had waited on him to his apartment, that as soon as he was at home he would distil the whole discourse of the pope, to try how much good sense he could extract out of a conversation that lasted three hours, in which the pope had had all the talk to himself. He shewed an affectation some days after which appeared to be extremely childish. He carried all the cardinals to the seven churches; but the way being too long to go in the forenoon with so great a train he gave them a dinner

in the refectory of St. Paul's, each of them having their separate allowance served before them, as pilgrims have in the time of the jubilee. All the silver plate, which was used with profusion on this occasion, was made on purpose in a form like to the utensils common to pilgrims. I remember among others, that the vessels which our wine was served in, were altogether like the gourd bottles used by pilgrims. But nothing in my opinion shewed more the pope's want of judgment than the pride he took in being thought the author of the Queen of Sweden's conversion. She had abjured her heresy eighteen months before she had any thought of coming to Rome. And yet as soon as Pope Alexander heard of it he acquainted the sacred college with it in a full consistory in a speech very much studied. He omitted nothing to give us to understand that he had been the only instrument which God had made use of for that conversion. There was nobody but was very well informed of the contrary, so I leave you to judge of the effect which a piece of vanity so ill contrived could produce. It will be an easy thing for you to imagine that the way which the pope took was no incouragement for me to expect any great matters from this protection; and besides I quickly perceived that the more he grew attached to small matters, the weaker he grew in respect to great.

There is every year an anniversary performed for the soul of Henry the Great, in the church of St. John Lateran, where the ambassadors of France and the cardinals of the French faction never failed to be present. The Cardinal d'Este was pleased to declare that he would not suffer me to be there. I was told of it, and I asked an audience of the pope to acquaint him with it. He refused it me, upon pretence of an indisposition. I got Monsignor Febey to know of him what he would have me do on this occasion, but he could draw from him nothing but equivocal answers. As I foresaw that if anything happened between the Cardinal d'Este and me, wherein any blood should be shed, the pope would not fail to run me down, I did whatever I could decently do to oblige him to put out an order that should forbid my being present at the ceremony. But finding that I could not succeed in it, and being unwilling on the other side to degrade myself from the title of a French cardinal, by excluding myself from the functions which were peculiar to that nation, I resolved to venture on, happen what would. I went to St. John Lateran very well accompanied; I took up my seat there; I assisted at the service, I saluted very civilly at my coming in and at my

going out the cardinals of the faction, who contented themselves with refusing to do the like to me, and I came back to my house very well pleased with my having come off so cheap. I had a like adventure at the church of St. Lewis, whither the sacred college went upon that saint's holyday. Having heard that La Bussière, who is now master of the chamber to the ambassadors at Rome, and who was at that time master of the horse to M. de Lionne, had said publickly that I should not be suffered to be there, I did what in me lay to oblige the pope to prevent the harm that might ensue. I spoke of it to him with vigour, but he would never explain himself.

It is true that at my first mentioning the thing to him, he told me, that he did not see what could oblige me to assist at these ceremonies, when I had so good an excuse for forbearing the doing of it, as the French king's command was of not admitting me there. But after I had answered him, that if I once acknowledged these orders to be the king's, I could not see how I could excuse myself from obeying his other orders by which I was divested of the archbishoprick of Paris, he was put to a nonplus. He told me that I ought to be my own adviser; that as for him, he would never forbid a cardinal from assisting at the functions of the sacred college, and so I parted from him just as wise as I was before. I went to St. Lewis's church in a condition to dispute the ground. La Bussière snatched away from the curate's hands the aspergill, as he was going to present me with holy water, which one of my gentlemen had fetched. Cardinal Antonio forbore making me the usual compliment made to other cardinals on this occasion. This however did not hinder me from taking my seat there, nor from staying all the time the ceremony lasted, which served to maintain me at Rome upon the foot of a French cardinal. The expence which was necessary to support me in that post, was not one of the least difficulties I met with. I was no longer at the head of a great faction, which I have always compared to a great cloud, wherein everybody fancies that he sees what is most pleasing to him. Most people looked upon me, during the commotions of Paris, as on a man that was in a condition to take advantage of every revolution. The tree was thought to be well rooted, and everybody expected to gather some fruit of it. This state I was in, occasioned immense offers to be made me, and such that if my aversion for borrowing had not been still greater than my inclination was to spend, I might have counted my debts to amount to more millions of pistoles than they amounted to millions of livres. I

was not at Rome upon the same foot. I was a refugee there, and persecuted by my king; and I was besides ill-used by the pope. The revenues of my archbishoprick and of my benefices were seized upon, and all the French bankers were expressly forbidden to help me. The animosity against me had been carried so far as to require all those who were thought to have both the will and the power to do it, not to assist me. The court, in order to deprive me of all manner of succour, had even affected to declare to all my creditors that the king would never suffer them to touch a penny of all the revenues he had in his hands. They had besides affected there, to cause these revenues to be dissipated in so profuse and profane a manner, that two bastards of the Abbot Fouquet's were publickly maintained at the archbishop's palace, a fund being set aside for it out of these revenues. No manner of precautions had been omitted to prevent my farmers from succouring me, or to put my creditors upon troubling me, by proceedings which had signified nothing to them for the present, but of which all the charge must have fallen upon me.

The industry which the Abbot Fouquet used upon this last article, had no success but with a butcher, every one of my other creditors having refused to trouble me in the least. Cardinal Mazarin's application upon other heads succeeded better. The receivers of the archbishoprick assisted me but poorly, and even some of my friends took hold of the king's orders against it, to excuse themselves from assisting me. M. and Madam de Liancourt sent two thousand crowns for me to the Bishop of Chalons, after they had offered twenty thousand to my father, whose most particular and intimate friends they were, alleging for their excuse the promise they had made to the queen. The Abbot Amelot, who took it into his head to be made a bishop by Cardinal Mazarin's interest, made answer to those who would have persuaded him to assist me, that I had given such marks of distinction to M. de Caumartin in a visit which both of them had made me at Nantes, that he did not think that he ought to fall out for my sake with the cardinal, at the time that he was giving him particular marks of his esteem. M. de Luines, with whom I had contracted a pretty intimate friendship since the siege of Paris, thought that he should acquit himself of what he owed me upon that account, in sending me six thousand livres. In short, Messieurs de Chalons, de Caumartin, de Bagnols and de la Houssaye, who were so kind as to take upon them at that time the care of my subsistance, found themselves sufficiently

imbarrassed with it, and it may be said that they met with no hearty assistance, but in M. de Mannevillette, who gave them twenty-four thousand livres for my use; in M. Pinon de Martray, who sent eighteen thousand; in Madam d'Asserac, who furnished as much; in M. d'Hacqueville, who out of his little spared me five thousand; Madam de Lesdiguières lent me fifty thousand, and M. de Brissac thirty-six thousand: Messieurs de Chalons and de la Houssaye furnished forty thousand between them, and M. de Caumartin helped me with fifty-five thousand. The Duke de Retz, my brother, kindly supplied the rest, which he had even done with a better grace, if his wife had had as much generosity and good nature as he had. You will perhaps tell me that it is surprizing that a man who seemed to be so much sunk under the weight of disgrace, could be supplied with such sums. But I will answer, that it is beyond comparison more surprizing that I had not more considerable supplies offered me, considering the ingagements which an infinite number of persons had entered into with me.

I insert in these memoirs out of gratitude, the names of those who assisted me, whilst I spare out of good nature the names of most of those who abandoned me, and I had even suppressed with pleasure the others I name, if the desire which you have expressed, that I should leave such memoirs as might prove instructive to the young gentlemen your sons, had not obliged me not intirely to bury in silence, particulars which may be of use to them. Their birth may naturally enough raise them to the highest posts, and nothing in my opinion is more necessary to such persons than to be informed betimes, that nothing but a continuation of good fortune is able to fix most men's friendships. I was good natured enough not to believe it, though all the books I had read had given me that caution. The number of faults which I have fallen into by believing otherwise, is inconceivable; and I have been, during my disgrace, twenty times upon the point of wanting what is most necessary, because during my good fortune I had never dreamt that it was possible for me to want what is most superfluous. It is likewise from my regard for the young gentlemen your sons, that I will mention some other particulars which otherwise would not be worthy your attention. It is impossible for you to imagine how great domestick troubles are during a disgrace. There is nobody but thinks that he does honour to a disgraced man in serving him, or if there are some men of honour who think otherwise, they are very few in number, because that evil disposition

insinuates itself so imperceptibly into the minds of those that stand not extremely upon their guard, that they feel nothing of this distemper, which pretty much resembles ingratitude. I have often considered both these defects, and I have found that a symptom common to them both is, that most of those that are tainted with them, do not so much as suspect it in the least. Those that are guilty of ingratitude, seldom perceive it, because the same inclination that leads them to it, leads them first to lessen in their own thoughts the obligations they have received from their benefactors. Those that are tainted with the first defect, perceive it as little, because the complacency they find in their constant attachment to the ill fortune of a friend hinders them from perceiving that they have sometimes been troubled at it ten times in a day.

Madam de Pommereux was saying one day in one of her letters to me, upon occasion of a misunderstanding that had happened between Messieurs de Caumartin and de la Houssaye, that the friends of unfortunate persons were a little hard to please; she ought to have said the like of their domesticks. Familiarity, which a person of quality who is well bred can defend himself from less than another, lessens insensibly (when he falls into trouble) the respect which is constantly paid him during the time of his good fortune. This familiarity produces at first the liberty of speaking, which is soon followed by the liberty of complaining. The true food of these complaints is the fancy which a domestick is full of, that he would be much better with some other than with the disgraced person. He will not own to himself however that he is possessed with such a fancy, because he cannot but see that it would not agree, either with the ingagements of honour into which he is entered, or with the affection which he at the bottom often preserves, in the midst of these evil dispositions. This obliges him to disguise to himself, even without thinking that he is doing it, the true spring from which what he feels in the most secret part of his heart proceeds, attributing to other causes what is occasioned by the pain he suffers for a disgrace which he is forced to share in. The choice of a domestick preferably to another, which is often necessary and even inevitable on a thousand occasions, is always looked upon by the rest as an injury. The most difficult thing that a disgraced master does for them, is no more than duty in him: what he does not do, let it be never so impossible, is no better than ingratitude or hardness of heart.

What is still worse than all that I have mentioned is, that the

remedy which a truly good-natured man is willing to apply on these occasions, by favouring the distemper, increases it instead of healing it. It is necessary that I should explain all this. Having always lived with my domesticks as if they had been my brothers; it was far from my thoughts to imagine it possible that I could meet among them anything but complacency and good humour. I began to perceive upon the galley that familiarity is attended with many inconveniencies; but I thought that it might be in my power to remedy them by my good usage, and my first step when I arrived at Florence was to divide as well amongst those of my domesticks who had accompanied me during my voyage, as amongst those that had joined me upon the road, the money which the great duke had lent me. I gave to each of them six score pistoles to buy themselves clothes and other necessaries, and I was very much surprized at my arrival at Rome, to find them, at least for the most part, upon an ill foot, and having pretensions greater beyond comparison in many respects, than if they had lived with a prime minister. They took it ill that they had not the chambers markt out for them in my palace, hung with the finest tapestry. This circumstance is but a sample of a hundred such, and it is enough for me to tell you that matters came to that point, both by their murmurings, and their divisions which commonly follow murmurings, that I was obliged for my own satisfaction to take an exact memorandum, during the great leisure I had at the waters of St. Cassien, of what I had given to my gentlemen since my arrival at Rome, and I found that they would not have cost me near so much if I had had them with me at the Louvre, supposing I had lived there in Mazarin's post. Boisguérin alone, who had indeed a great fit of sickness at St. Cassien, where I left him with my litter and my physician, cost me in less than fifteen months that he staid with me 5800 livres in money paid him and laid out for him, which is perhaps more than he had received, had he been a domestick to Cardinal Mazarin.

His health obliged him to return into France for change of air, where it did not appear to me afterwards that he remembered much the manner in which I had treated him. I am obliged to except from the number of murmurers which I had in my family, Malclerc, who has the honour to be known to you, and who received from me much less than the others, because as chance would have it, he was not present at the time of the distributions. He was continually upon travelling, as you will see by the sequel of this narration, and I am obliged to say for truth's sake,

that I never observed in him upon any occasion, any mark either of dissatisfaction or of private interest. The Abbot de Lamet, my master of the chamber, who would never touch a penny of me, during the whole time of my disgrace, was less capable of this last vice than any man I know. But being naturally of an uneasy temper, he was pretty much subject to the first, being excited to it by Joly, who with an honest heart and upright intentions, has a sort of oddness in him altogether opposite to the temper which is required for the keeping the balance even in governing a great family. It was not without pain that I could behave myself right with these two, and with the Abbot Charrier, they being all three pretty apt to be jealous one of another. The Abbot Charrier inclined altogether in favour of the Abbot Bouvier, who was my agent, and my officer for dispatches at the pope's court, to whom all my bills of exchange were directed. Joly declared himself for the Abbot Rousseau, who being brother to my steward, pretended that he ought to perform the functions of that office, of which he was in truth not at all capable. I must again beg your excuse for troubling you with these trifles; and I do not doubt but that you believe that I would willingly have kept these little defects in my domestick altogether hid, when you come to reflect that it has not prevented me from doing for all of them without exception, since my return into France, whatever lay in my power. What I have said upon this subject, is only as I have told you in relation to your children, who perhaps will meet nowhere else with so particular an account, having, as to myself, found nothing like it in any book. You will perhaps ask me of what advantage this will be to them? For answer to that question, I would have them to consider once a week, that a prudent man ought always to keep his natural goodness under some restraint, and that a person of great quality, whose soul can never be too much inclined to goodness, ought by his good conduct to keep it carefully hid and not to disclose it but with precaution, that he may preserve the dignity of it, chiefly during his disgraces. It is incredible to believe how much vexation and trouble my natural easiness so opposite to that maxim, has cost me.

I believe that I have said enough to convince you how hard a part I had to act. You will still conceive it the better when I have given you an account of the conduct which I was obliged to follow at that same time, in respect to France. As soon as I had made my escape out of the castle of Nantes, Cardinal Mazarin caused an edict of the king's council to be issued

whereby my vicars-general were forbidden to put out any mandates before they had communicated about it with the king's privy council. Though this decree tended towards destroying the liberty which is essential to the government of the church, it might have been alleged that those who had given it had affected to preserve some appearance of order and discipline, because they acknowledged at least my jurisdiction. But they soon broke through all this pretended order, by declaring my see vacant by a proclamation given at Péronne. This happened a month or two before the holy see declared that it was filled up, by granting me the pallium of the archbishoprick of Paris in a full consistory. At the time that this last edict was given, Messieurs Chevalier and l'Avocat, canons of the church of Nôtre-Dame, my vicars-general, were sent for to court, and their absence was made use of for a pretence to force the chapter to take upon them the administration of my diocese. This proceeding, so uncanonical, gave no less offence to the church of Rome than to that of France, and they agreed intirely both of them in their sentiments upon that subject. I observed it, and took care to confirm them in these sentiments; and after I had staid as long as I thought it necessary, considering the temper of those I lived with, to clear my conduct of any air of precipitancy, I wrote, conformably to these sentiments, a letter to my chapter, which I insert here, because it will present you at one view with what passed upon that account, since my getting out of prison.

"Gentlemen,—One of my greatest satisfactions after God had restored me to my liberty, having been the assurances of your affection and esteem, which you expressed in a manner so advantageous to me, both in private by your obliging and speedy answer to my letter, and in publick by your publick thanksgivings offered to God for my deliverance; I can in like manner assure you that among so many traverses and dangers which I have since run, I have felt no greater affliction than that of receiving the sorrowful news of the manner in which your company has been treated, in order to divide you from my interest, which is no other than that of the church, and to oblige you to abandon, by forced and involuntary resolutions, the man whose right and authority you had maintained with so much vigour and constancy. The end which it has pleased God to put to my travels and to my labours, by leading me to the capital city of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to the most ancient

and most sacred sanctuary for his ministers, persecuted by the great men of this world, has not been able to make me forget what has been done in Paris for the subjecting of you. Neither has the reception which the head of all the bishops and the father of all the faithful, vouchsafed to give me in so favourable a manner, before God took him from this world; the marks of kindness and of affection with which he was pleased to honour my exile and my innocence, in so publick and in so glorious a manner; and the apostolical protection which he did me the honour to promise me with so much tenderness and generosity; neither I say has all this been able to allay entirely the grief, which the deplorable state your company has been reduced to for these last six months, has brought upon me. For as the extraordinary marks of your true friendship for me, have drawn upon you the aversion of my enemies, and as you have been persecuted for no other reason but because you have always opposed the persecution which I laboured under; I have been wounded to the very heart with the same wounds which your company has received; and the same generosity which will oblige me so long as I live to preserve a particular sense of gratitude for your good offices, obliges me still more for the present to feel inwardly an uncommon sense of compassion and tenderness for your afflictions and sufferings.

"I have heard with sorrow, gentlemen, that those who since my liberty have imputed to me as a crime the zeal which you have expressed for me, have reproached me in a publick and defamatory libel, with having caused actions scandalous and injurious to his majesty, to be committed in his capital city, for no other reason but your expressing by one of the canticles of the church, your joy to God for my deliverance, after having asked it of Him by so many prayers. I have learnt that that act of piety of yours, which has rejoyced all those who were afflicted at the violations of the ecclesiastical liberty in imprisoning a cardinal and an archbishop, has provoked my enemies to a degree that they have taken occasion from thence of treating you like seditious men and disturbers of the publick peace; that they have made use of that pretence, to oblige my two vicars-general and other persons of your company to go to court under colour of making them give an account of their actions, but in reality to expose them to contempt, to insult them with railleries and affronts, and to daunt them if possible by menaces. But what has touched me the most was my hearing that that first persecution of my vicars-general and of some others of your

brethren, has served only as a step to come up afterwards to a greater against your whole body. They have been driven away on purpose only to weaken your company, and to take an opportunity from their exile to signify a decree to you of August 22 last, whereby secular persons usurping the authority of the church, have declared my see vacant; and have commanded you, in consequence of that pretended vacancy, to name within eight days other vicars to govern my diocese in the room of those I had named, accompanying that command with threats that other measures should be taken, in case you refused to obey it. I make no doubt but that you have all looked upon the bare proposal of an enterprize so injurious to the episcopal dignity, as a signal affront given to the church of Paris, in expressing by this decree the thoughts which the authors of it have, that you can be capable of giving your consent to the shameful subjection of the spouse of Jesus Christ, to the violence and usurpation of the ecclesiastical authority, by a lay power (which is always venerable whilst it keeps in its due bounds) and to so scandalous a degrading of your archbishop.

"But my enemies at the same time, being conscious of your averseness to do of your own accord anything like this, I have learnt that besides the taking away some of your brethren from you, they had made use of all manner of means to win some, to intimidate others, and even to slacken the zeal of those who are the least mindful of their private interest, by making them afraid of losing your rights and your privileges. And that all might be conformable to that same spirit, I have found by reading the act of notification of that decree which has been sent me, that two of the under-officers of the council who are the bearers of the orders that are issued from that board, having entered into your assembly, declared there that they signified that edict to you by an express command, that you might not pretend ignorance, but that you might obey it: and because it is a known thing that the first impressions of fear are always the most powerful, these two officers being unwilling to give you any time to come to yourselves, commanded you to deliberate immediately about that decree, declaring to you that they would not leave the place till you had done it.

"There is room however to praise God that such an extraordinary proceeding has rendered still more visible to all the world the insult which my enemies have offered to the church in my person. Whatever violence has been used to hinder you from acting according to the true impulse of your heart, and

whatever fear has been infused into the minds of people, it has not been possible to make you consent to that sacrilegious degrading of an archbishop by a tribunal composed of laymen; and your refusing to do it, notwithstanding all the instances of my enemies, will be a more than sufficient proof to posterity, of their attempting against the church, things so wicked and insupportable, that even those whom they have oppressed and whom they have reduced to act no longer like free men, could not but conceive a horror at it. Instead therefore of declaring my see vacant according to the tenor of that edict, you have declared that my vicars-general were the true and lawful administrators of the spiritual jurisdiction of my diocese, and that nothing but a violence that came from abroad, hindered them from exercising it. You have resolved upon making remonstrances to the king for their return as well as for mine, whereby you have shewn how much concerned you were at the wounds that were endeavoured to be given to my character. This is your true disposition of mind: all that has been done since can be imputed only to the unjust breakers of the inviolable rights of the church.

"I have learnt, gentlemen, that many of you have remained firm and unmoveable during this tempest, and have preserved in part the honour of your body, by a couragious resistance against all the enterprizes of my enemies. But I have learnt besides that those who have not been so firm, and who have not had the courage to oppose openly the injury that was attempted against their archbishop, have given way to that weakness only because they were not suffered to follow the laws of the church, and because they thought themselves obliged to submit to necessity, which they were told had no law. They have acted not like free persons, but like persons reduced to the greatest extremity. They have felt on this occasion, the struggle which St. Paul describes, of the flesh against the spirit; and they may say upon this occasion, We have not done the good which we would, but we have done the evil which we would not.

"All the world knows that when you were forced to take into your hands the spiritual administration of my diocese, my vicars-general had been absent but a few days, and that there was room to believe that they would soon return. Now I would ask whether anybody has ever heard that a diocese ought to pass for deserted and forsaken, and that there is an obligation to force a chapter to usurp the authority of its archbishop, four days after his vicars-general have been sent for to court. Does not

even the passage out of the decretals, which, as I am informed, has been the only ground for what has been done, destroy clearly what it is pretended that it establishes? If a bishop, says that decretal of Pope Boniface VIII., is taken either by pagans or schismaticks, it is not the metropolitan but the chapter that is to administer the diocese, in relation either to spiritual or temporal matters, as if the see was vacant by death, till the time that the bishop gets out of the hands of those pagans or schismaticks, and is restored to his liberty; or till the time that the pope, to whom it belongs to provide for the necessities of the church, and whom the chapter ought to advise without any loss of time, has ordered it otherwise.

"This is the passage out of the decretal which is in question; and it is a formal condemnation of all that has been attempted against the authority which I have received from God. For if there had been any room to make use of this decretal to take away from me the exercise of my episcopal functions, it must have been whilst I was a prisoner, because it relates only to a bishop who is deprived of his liberty. But my enemies have been so far from pretending anything like it, that during the whole time of my imprisonment, and to the day of my deliverance, my vicars-general governed my diocese peaceably in my name, and by my authority. And in effect how could my enemies have made use of this decretal, except they had been willing to take upon them, in respect to me, the dishonourable name of pagans or schismaticks, who having either no fear of God or no respect for the church, make no conscience of persecuting the ministers of God, and the prelates of his church, by reducing them to subjection and to the misery of a prison. But if my enemies could make no use against me of this decretal whilst I was kept in captivity, because I was not detained by pagans or schismaticks, which is the only thing meant by it, what right could they have to make use of it after it had pleased God to break my fetters, since Pope Boniface orders expressly that that administration of the chapter ought to last only till the bishop be restored to liberty? By this it is plain that if you had taken into your hands the administration of my diocese whilst I was kept in captivity, (which you would never do) you ought necessarily to have quitted it, according to the express meaning of that decretal, as soon as God was pleased to restore me to my liberty. And supposing that it should be pretended that the absence of an archbishop who is free, and the obstacles which a lay power may create against the functions of his vicars-general, gave the

chapter the same right to take into their hands the administration of his diocese, as if the bishop was kept prisoner by schismaticks or infidels; such a pretence would confound things which are intirely different; that is, a bishop who is a captive with a bishop who is free; a bishop who can act neither by himself nor others, with a bishop that can and ought to do it; a chapter, a clergy, and a people, who can receive no manner of orders or letters from their bishop, with a chapter and a diocese who can receive both, and who ought even to receive them with respect, according to all the canons of the church.

" When a bishop is kept prisoner in the hands of infidels, it is a foreign force which suspends the episcopal functions, which puts him under an absolute impossibility of governing his diocese, and over which the church has no power. But in the present case, the bishop being free as I am, thanks be to God, he may send his orders and establish persons to govern it in his absence; and the obstacles which passion or animosity would oppose to it, ought to be considered only as wicked attempts against episcopal authority, to which ecclesiasticks cannot yield without betraying the honour and interest of the church. And as when the person of a bishop is captive among infidels, there is nothing but what his church ought to do to redeem him, even to the selling of their holy vessels, if no other means can be found for his ransom; in the same manner when endeavours are used to keep, not his person, because it is out of his enemies' reach, but his authority captive; his church ought to use all the power it has, not against him, but for him; not to usurp his authority, but to defend it against those that would destroy it.

" For you know, gentlemen, that it is in time of persecution and troubles, that the clergy ought to keep more than ever inseparably united to their bishop; and that as the hands are naturally carried to the head, in order to preserve it when it is threatened with any danger, so the prime ecclesiasticks of a diocese, who are the hands of the prelates whereby they act and govern the people, ought never to act with more zeal and more vigour for maintaining the authority of their chiefs and of their pastors, than when it is violently attacked, and when a lay power will assume the right of interdicting his vicars-general from their ecclesiastical functions, and of putting into other hands, in an arbitrary manner, the administrations of his diocese.

" But if it could be supposed that a bishop should leave his see vacant and abdicated in a manner that others may take in hand the conduct of it whether he will or no, because he is

persecuted, and that his enemies will hinder him from governing it, either by himself or by his officers; so many great prelates whom several persecutions have formerly obliged to fly away and to hide themselves, either upon account of their faith, or for some pretended interest and quarrels of state, relating to the liberty of the church, and who continued notwithstanding to govern their dioceses by their letters, and by the orders which they sent to their clergy and to their people; so many prelates, I say, ought to have remained during the whole time, without authority, as deserters of their sees; and their priests would have had a right to assume their power, and to deprive them, by a detestable schism, of the functions of their characters.

"The great St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, (to mention only that example out of antiquity) perceiving the persecution that was kindling against him, and that the pagans required that he should be exposed in the amphitheatre to the lions, thought himself obliged to retire, for fear of exciting by his presence the rage of the infidels against his people. This occasioned some priests of his church who did not love him, to take hold of his absence to usurp his authority, and to assume the power which God had given him over the church of Carthage. But he soon convinced them that his see was not deserted, though he was absent and hidden, and though persecution prevented him from performing the functions of a bishop. He never governed his church with more firmness and vigour. He established vicars to govern it in his name and by his authority; he excommunicated those priests who were endeavouring to take away his power from him, and he likewise excommunicated all their abettors; in short he did by his letters all that he had done if he had been present. The account in writing which he sends himself to the clergy of Rome, shews clearly that he never had the government of his church more at heart, than after the proscription of his person and of his goods had obliged him to remove from it. From the place of his retreat he sent mandates about the conduct which was to be observed towards those who were fallen under persecution. He named the readers, the subdeacons, and the priests which he sent to his clergy. He comforted some, he exhorted others, and above all he was labouring to prevent his enemies from taking hold of his absence to make a schism in his church, and to separate from him part of the flock which was committed to his conduct.

"But if that holy Bishop of Carthage had lost none of his right of governing his own church, is there not a much greater reason

that an Archbishop of Paris should preserve the right of governing his, when he is neither hid nor invisible, but is exposed to the greatest light in the world, by his being with the chief of all bishops, and the common father to all Catholick kings; when he is acknowledged by his holiness for the lawful prelate of his see; and when he performs publickly in the chiefest of all churches the sacred functions of his dignity of cardinal?

"And it signifies nothing to say, that the cause of St. Cyprian's proscription being the war which the pagans were making against our faith, his example ought not to be extended to the proscription of an archbishop who is only persecuted for pretended reasons of state: for let the subject for proscribing a prelate be what it will, so long as he remains vested with the episcopal dignity, and that the church has given no judgment against him; as no proscription or interdiction, made by any lay power, can hinder him from being a bishop nor from filling up his see, neither can it hinder him from having the right and the power of performing a bishop's functions, having received that right from Jesus Christ and not from the king, for which reason nothing can prevent his clergy from being obliged in conscience to submit to his orders in respect to the spiritual administration of his diocese.

"It is therefore in vain that my enemies pretend to cover the violence of a proceeding unheard of and without example, with the causes which they make use of for a pretext, that is with chimerical and imaginary crimes of state which they have begun to impute publickly to me, in order to deprive me of the exercise of my employment which I enjoyed by means of my vicars-general during my imprisonment, only from the day that it has pleased God to restore me to my liberty. But if I have been a bishop during my imprisonment, am I no longer one for being at Rome? Am I the first prelate who has fallen into disgrace with the court, and who has been forced to leave the kingdom? But if all those to whom such an accident has happened have notwithstanding governed their dioceses by their vicars-general according to the inviolable discipline of the church, what means this new abuse of the lay power, that tramples under foot all ecclesiastical laws? What means this new yoke and this new thraldom which is endeavoured to be imposed upon the church of Jesus Christ, by subjecting the spiritual exercise of the episcopal power to all the caprices and to all the jealousies of a favourite?

"The late Cardinal Richlieu, when he was yet only Bishop of

Luçon, was exiled to Avignon after the death of the Marshal d'Ancre: but notwithstanding his being out of the kingdom, it never came into anybody's head to persuade his chapter to take into their hands the government of his bishoprick, as if his see had been deserted; but his vicars-general still continued to govern it in his name and by his authority. And have we not seen besides, that the late Archbishop of Bordeaux having been obliged to leave France, and to retire likewise into Avignon, he did not cease notwithstanding to govern his diocese, not only by his vicars-general, but likewise by his orders and regulations which he sent from the place of his retreat, some of which I have myself seen printed and published?

"Must a bishop for being at Rome, which place may be called the common country of all bishops, lose a right which he would preserve by being at Avignon? But why should not the church enjoy, during the reign of the most Christian and the most pious prince in the world, one of the most sacred and inviolable rights that belongs to her, and which she peaceably enjoyed during the reign of the late king his father? But what I have been sadly concerned at, is to have heard that there have been two prelates so little sensible to the honour of their character, and so far devoted to the passions of my enemies, as to undertake to admit into holy orders in my church, or rather to profane that holy sacrament by so wicked an attempt; there being nothing more firmly established in all the ecclesiastical discipline than the right which every bishop has to communicate the sacerdotal power of Jesus Christ to those who are submitted to him, no other bishop having the power to do it against his will, except by a violence that makes him deserve to be deprived of the episcopal functions, the sacred unity of which he violates, according to the ordinances of all the ancient councils, which that of Trent has renewed.

"But if even when a see is vacant by the death of a bishop, councils have forbid the chapter to cause holy orders to be administred without an urgent necessity, such a one as a vacancy that should last above a year would be, and if what the Council of Trent has established upon that subject is only a renewing of what we find to have been established by the councils of France, which forbid all bishops to ordain clerks, and to consecrate altars, in a church deprived by death of its own pastor: is it not visible that that which would not have been lawful, supposing my see to be vacant by my death, must be less so, by the violence which has been committed against me who am living and at liberty?

Is it not visible that the precipitancy which has been used in this attempt renders it altogether inexcusable, so as to deserve the most severe punishments inflicted by our holy canons?

"But it is time, gentlemen, that the church of Paris should be delivered from the oppression under which it groans, and that it should be reinstated in the order which a foreign force has deprived it of. I make no doubt but that even those who have shewn the least courage in opposing the impetuosity of that torrent, will bless God when they shall see all the pretences which have occasioned this scandalous *inter-regnum* of the episcopal power to cease. It can no longer be said that the place of my residence is unknown, neither can I any longer be looked upon as shut up in a conclave. Besides I can no longer find out myself any pretences or colours for the long patience which I have used, and which is so opposite to all the ancient practices of the church, and which would leave strange scruples upon me, if God, who is the searcher of all hearts, did not read in mine that the cause of my silence has proceeded only from the profound respect which I have always preserved, and shall continue to preserve for ever, for all that bears the title of king, and from the hopes that the great and holy inclinations which shine in his majesty, would bring him to see the injury which has been done to the church under his name. I cannot believe, gentlemen, but that the Holy Ghost, who has lately shewn by the election of that great and worthy successor St. Peter so particular a protection to the universal church, has already inspired the heart of our great monarch with sentiments altogether favourable to the re-establishing the church of Paris. I make no doubt but that the ardent zeal which I have shewn for his service on all occasions has taken off from his royal soul those false impressions which are not capable of darkening innocence, and I am persuaded that at a time when the church is issuing out with abundance the treasure of her indulgences, the piety of the successors of St. Lewis will not suffer that they should pass through channels uncommon and unnatural.

"I have all manner of room to believe that my vicars-general are at present at Paris, that the king's goodness has recalled them, there to perform their functions under my authority, and that his majesty has at last done you the justice which you have been continually asking him in all your acts, since you have always protested, even in the title of those acts, that what you do is only occasioned by their absence. I therefore, gentlemen, direct to them the bull of our holy father the pope, in order to

have it published according to the usual forms; and in case they should not be at Paris, which I can however hardly believe, I direct the arch-priests of the Madeleine and St. Séverin to do with it according to my orders and the common practice of the diocese. By the same mandate I give them the administration of my diocese in the absence of my vicars-general, and I am persuaded that these resolutions will give you great joy, since they will begin to give you a sight of those things which you have so long wished for, and that they will free you from those difficulties which you were put to by the apprehension of seeing the government of my archbishoprick deserted and abandoned. I had given these orders immediately after the conclave, if I had not rather chosen that you should receive them at the same time that I am receiving from his holiness's hands the fulness of the archiepiscopal power, by the pallium, which is the mark and the consummation of it. I pray to God to give me the necessary gifts that I may use it as I am bound to do, for his service and for his glory; and I beg that in your prayers you would implore for me the blessings of heaven. I hope that your charity will make you grant my request; and I am, gentlemen, your very affectionate servant and brother, the Cardinal de Retz, Archbishop of Paris.

"From Rome, May 22, 1655."

This letter had all the effect that I could have wished. The chapter, which was very well disposed in my favour, quitted with joy the administration of my diocese, notwithstanding the efforts which they made at court to prevent it. But they met in that body only with three or four persons who sided with them, and who were no great ornament to their company.

M. d'Aubigny, who bore the name of Stuart, signalized himself on this occasion as much by his firmness, as old Ventadour made himself remarkable by his weakness. In short, my vicars-general took again couragiously into their hands the government of my diocese, and Cardinal Mazarin was obliged to send a *lettre de cachet* to them, in order to remove them from Paris, and to force them upon going to court for the second time. I will acquaint you with the sequel of this violence, after I have given you an account of some particulars which you will find pretty curious, because they will give you the true idea of the most grievous misfortune that in my opinion attends disgrace.

A letter which I received from Paris some time after my being entered into the conclave, obliged me to dispatch Malclerc thither.

That letter, which came from M. de Caumartin, acquainted me that M. de Noirmoutier was treating with the court by the means of Madam de Chevreuse and of Laigue; that that lady had assured the cardinal, that Noirmoutier would give me only the appearance of friendship, but would in reality do nothing against the interest of his eminence; that the cardinal had declared to that lady, that Laigue would never be suffered to enter into the exercise of his place of captain of the guards to the Duke of Anjou, which was given him at the imprisonment of the princes, till the king was master of Mézières and of Charleville; that Noirmoutier had dispatched to court Longuerue, the king's lieutenant in this last place, to assure his majesty, not only in his own, but likewise in the Viscount de Lamet's name, that he might reckon at least upon an absolute inaction in respect to those two places, whilst they should treat about the chief matter; that this advice came from Madam de Lesdiguières, who had it in all likelihood of the Marshal de Villeroy, so that I might rely upon it. This affair, as you see, deserved to be considered, and the reflection I made upon it, besides the necessity of providing for my subsistance, obliged me, as I have said, to send Malclerc into France, with an order to represent to my friends the necessity which put me upon expences, which they thought I might well spare; and with an order likewise to do his best with Messieurs de Noirmoutier and de Lamet, to oblige them not to come to an accommodation with the court till the pope was chosen. I had by this time great hopes of Chigi's exaltation; and I had so good an opinion of his zeal for the interest of the church, and of his gratitude for me, that I began to reckon upon those places as upon means only to shew, by my suffering their governors to come to an accommodation, that I put my whole reliance of being restored upon his holiness's protection. Malclerc found at his coming to Paris that the advice which had been given me was but too well grounded, and M. de Caumartin would even have prevented his going to Charleville, thinking that that journey would only give M. de Noirmoutier an opportunity of making his court the better. The Bishop of Chalons, whom Malclerc saw upon the road, tried likewise for the same reason to hinder him from going. But Malclerc was resolved to follow his directions. As he passed through Montmirail, he was known by some of Madam de Noirmoutier's people, which obliged him to see that lady. He had sense enough to make her believe, that he yielded to the multitude of reasons which she alleged to prevent his going to her husband, which if he had not done,

might probably, considering that lady's humour, have occasioned his being sent to the Bastille. However he saw Messieurs de Noirmoutier and de Lamet at a league's distance from Mézières, at a gentleman's house named d'Haudrey. Noirmoutier spoke of nothing but of the obligations which he had to Madam de Chevreuse, of the perfect union there was between Laigue and him, and of the reasons he had to complain of me, which is the ordinary language of all ungrateful persons. Lamet expressed all manner of good intentions for me, but he gave Malclerc to understand at the same time, that it would be extreamly difficult for him to separate himself from the interest, or rather from the conduct of Noirmoutier, considering the situation of their two places, it being certain that the one signifies but little without the other. In short, Malclerc, who reduced all the favours which he asked of them in my behalf to their staying before they made their accommodation till there was a new pope chosen, drew upon him the railleries of Noirmoutier, for being so simple as to suffer himself to be dazzled at the false lights, with which, as he said, I was affecting to mislead all the world, in respect to the exaltation of Chigi, the truth of which he heard however from the Bishop of Chalons at his arrival at Paris.

My friends, whom I had acquainted by Malclerc with the likelihood of the thing, began, when they heard it confirmed, to be filled with all the hopes which you may easily imagine. You will as easily imagine how troubled Noirmoutier was at his precipitancy. He had concluded his accommodation with the cardinal, soon after his having spoken with Malclerc, and he was come to Paris to put the last hand to it. He expressed a desire of seeing Malclerc, as soon as he was informed that Chigi was really elected pope. He discovered that he was still at Paris, though my friends, who mistrusted him much for his want both of secrecy and fidelity, had told him that he was gone, and he bestirred himself so much that he saw him in the suburb of St. Anthony. He did whatever he could to excuse or rather disguise his precipitancy in making his accommodation, and he did not hide how sorely vexed he was for having refused to grant the small delay that was asked him. He betrayed his shame both by his discourse and his countenance. I ceased to be with him that discourteous and tyrannical man who would have sacrificed all my friends to my ambition and to my caprice. The whole conversation was spent in expressions of his tenderness for me, of the means which he was seeking after, jointly with Madam de Chevreuse and with Laigue, to reconcile me upon a solid foot with the

court, and of the ease which they hoped to find in it. The conclusion was a very earnest instance he made to Malclerc to accept ten thousand crowns, whereby he hoped, considering the pressing necessity I was in for money, that he might lessen in respect to me, and cover in respect to the publick, the cruel wrong which he had done me. Malclerc refused the ten thousand crowns, though all my friends pressed him very much to accept of them. They wrote to me about it, even in very strong terms, but without persuading me, for which I am pleased with myself even at this time. *Nothing is greater than to bestow favours upon those who have been wanting to us: Nothing in my opinion is weaker than to receive any from their hands. The Christian religion which commands the first, would infallibly have enjoined us the second, if it were a duty which we ought to observe.* Though my friends had been of opinion that M. de Noirmoutier's offers ought not to have been refused, because they came from himself, they thought that it would not be well to sollicit new offers of money from others, at a time when prudence obliged them to affect rather to appear triumphant for the exaltation of Chigi. They supplied out of their own fund what was most pressing and most necessary, and so Malclerc came back to Rome, where I can assure you he was not chid for having refused Noirmoutier's money.

What you have seen of the behaviour of that gentleman, is a true image of what all those that are wanting to their friends during their disgraces, constantly practise. Their first care is, to whisper abroad the causes of discontent, which they pretend to have against those whom they design to forsake; and their second care is to lessen as much as they can the weight of the obligation which they have to them. Nothing can be of greater service to them for that purpose, than their appearing grateful to others, whose friendship can be in no manner troublesome. They impose by this means upon half mankind, who give but a slight attention to ingratitudes in which they are not concerned, and they set up a false gratitude in the room of the true one. Not but there are always some persons more clear-sighted, whom it is not easy to put on a false scent, and this puts me in mind of a saying of the Prince de Guéméné's, which may be applied to this subject. Montrésor, to whom I had procured an abbey of twelve thousand livres a year at the time that the princes were arrested, saying one day at the Count de Béthune's that he was obliged for it to M. de Joyeuse, the Prince de Guéméné made this repartee to him: "I had forgot that M. de Joyeuse had the

disposal of the benefices for that year." M. de Noirmoutier did in order to justify his ingratitude, what Montrésor had done to satisfy only his fondness for Madam de Guise. This made me excuse the last, when I could not help being touched to the quick with the other's behaviour. The only or at least the best remedy against this kind of vexations, which are more affecting to persons in disgrace, than the disgrace itself, is never to do good but for the sake of good itself. An ill-natured man is incapable of following that rule, which is the result of the most refined virtue. Neither is it much easier to a good-natured man to follow it, because it is natural to him to join to the motives of doing good which he finds in the satisfaction of his own conscience, the regard he has to his friendship. I return to what passed at that time in respect to the administration of my diocese.

As soon as the court had learnt that the chapter had quitted it, they sent there for my two vicars-general, as well as for M. Loisel, curate of St. John's, and for M. Biet, two canons of my cathedral who had both signalized themselves for my interest.

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